Internal Security System of Mughal India (1526-1707)

THESIS

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that **Mr. Waseem Rashid** who was registered as Ph.D. scholar in the Department of History, University of Jammu has completed his work under my supervision. The title of his thesis is **"Internal Security System of Mughal India (1526-1707)".**

The work is original and worthy of consideration for Ph.D. Degree in History. He has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for submission of the thesis for evaluation.

It is further certified that:

- The thesis embodies the work of the candidate himself;
- The candidate has worked under my supervision for the period required under rules;
- The candidate has put in the required attendance in the department during the period of research;
- The conduct of the candidate remained outstanding during the period of research; and
- The candidate has fulfilled the statutory conditions as laid down in Section 18.

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Place: ***(Waseem Rashid)***

Date:

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CERTIFICATE

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Introduction

The present study is an attempt to examine the working of Mughal administration in terms of the Internal Security System of Mughal India. The Mughals administrative institutions were based on the concept of inclusion i.e. policy making processes had to establish coordination between the officials and population concerned. Consequently, these institutions covered the areas from village to the city. Though the present work mainly deals with the Mughals from 1526-1707 A.D, the rule of Shershah Sur (1540-1545) has also been incorporated to understand the administrative measures for security purpose. After studying the sources of Shershaha's period, it is found that the policies and administrative structure followed by Shershah and his successors played an important role in shaping the internal structure of the Mughal Empire from Akbar's period onwards.

The Mughal Empire consisted of vast areas of India spreading from Kabul to Tamil Nadu. The Mughal Empire under Akbar was divided into twelve *Subas* and after the conquest of some parts of Deccan he created three more *Subas* which increased up to fifteen before his death in 1605. During the reign of Jahangir seventeen new *Subas* were created and after the death of Jahangir, Shahjahan took the reign in his own hands and increased the number of *Subas* up to twenty two. During the rule of Shahjahan, the Qandhar which was separate *Suba* under the control of Mughals was lost to the Persian Empire in 1648 similarly along with other two *Subas*. But Aurangzeb added three new *Subas* after conquering other parts of Deccan such as Bijapur, Sirsa and Golconda and maintained their number again up to twenty two *Subas*.

Since Mughal emperors collected land revenue and non-agrarian taxes *(Sar-i-Jihat),* they made a policy to ensure continuous cultivation and continuous movement of merchants from one region to another region and they understood it as their duty to maintain an administration which could provide security to peasants, merchants and professionals.

The present work is significant as to increase the scope of medieval Indian history by providing a deep insight into the internal security system working under different institutions established by the Mughals. The working of these institutions

was carried out by the different officials appointed by the Mughals from *Sarkar* to village level. The maintenance of internal security was connected with the Mughals policies of land revenue, trade and commerce, territorial integrity and external threat. The internal security and law and order which Mughals faced repeatedly remained a matter of concern for protecting all the sections and working classes of the Mughal Empire such as peasants, merchants, traders, travellers and also the foreign trading concerns.

The Mughal Empire consisted of two types of areas in terms of political control. The first type was under the direct control of the Mughals and second type was under the control of local ruling dynasties accepting the Mughals sovereignty. Most parts of the Deccan and *Rajputana* came under the second category. However, maintenance of law and order was treated as one of the essential services of the Mughal Empire. To make Mughal sovereignty visible in the empire, the Mughals made security measures as the most effective instrument.

The Mughals maintained a vast empire in India and ruled effectively from 1526-1707 A. D. It was the integral part of the Mughal administration to ensure security to the people of their empire. There is hardly any example showing the escape of an officer indulging in worsening law and order problem. Moreover, the law and order enforcing agencies were answerable to the emperor for the implementation of their policies pertaining to the interest of the people of their respective areas in terms of their socio-economic activities. The present work has made an extensive study of the internal security system of the Mughal Empire and has disclosed the Mughals concept of internal security of empire and due to which the common people realized the presence of Mughal Empire in terms of their free movement and activities.

The present study has concentrated on the regions such as Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir, Delhi, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajputana, Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar to highlight the measures of the maintenance of law and order in these areas. The kingdoms of autonomous chiefs are also covered to study the nature of internal security. Moreover, the different law and order enforcing institutions are also examined to know the link among the different administrative divisions for the security management. Moreover these security agencies also facilitated the work of

peasants, merchants and artisans for both agricultural and non-agricultural production. A number of measures were also adopted by the Mughal emperors to meet the situation of scarcity of food grains at the time of natural calamity. The scarcity of food grains always resulted in the insecurity of people in inhabited areas and due to which loot and plunder become common. But Mughals in order to overcome this situation increased the level of trade and commerce on highways to ensure the regular flow of food grains from every part of Mughal Empire.

Mughal Empire consisted of diverse regional identities and therefore, for the maintenance of law and order Mughals established internal security system in collaboration with the regional or autonomous states. The Mughals constructed *sarais*, forts, *thanas*, so that internal security was to be realized by the merchants, travellers and common passengers. The internal security measures were inclusive and both the Mughal officials and local authorities such as autonomous chiefs, *Zamindars* and village headman worked together to ensure security to the people. Although rebellions of both Mughal *jagirdars* and autonomous chiefs in some areas caused insecurity for the limited period, mostly internal security was realized by the common people leading to the flourishment of agricultural production, trade and commerce. The arrival of European companies and intensification of trading activities was also the result of the well organised internal security by the Mughals.

The present study is based on the data collected from both the primary works and the Mughal documents issued by the Mughal emperors and local ruling authorities. This work also worked out how the means of internal security were planned and made functional. Several officials such as *faujdar*, *Kotwal*, *thanedars*, *Zamindars* and other officials were appointed and held responsible to manage internal security and attempts were also made to compare the social identities of these officials with the local people of the areas where these officials were appointed. The narratives of internal security were generally glorified by the official historians of the Mughal Empire. Therefore the travellers and merchants records were also consulted to extract data to investigate the perception of the merchants and travellers regarding Mughal internal security system in collaboration with the local authorities. The data analysis was based on the basis of consensus and differences on the internal security system of the Mughal Empire in terms of socio-economic development and crisis.

From the above mentioned details about the security and law and order maintained by the Mughals is clear that they established well efficient internal security in their respective empire and held a large part of India for nearly three centuries. It was only during the later part of the Aurangzeb's reign that some parts of the empire became prey to rebels. As Sikhs, Jats and Marathas provoked rebellion and disturbed the whole empire by creating insecurity and law and order situation, which after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 became one of the causes for the decline of Mughal Empire.

For the present study a number of modern works were consulted and taken into consideration for the writing of research work the most important modern works which were utilized in the research are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

The most prominent modern work is *"Agrarian System of Mughal India"* by Irfan Habib. This work is very much important to construct the new themes for writing the research work. This work provides valuable information and data related to the peasants and crops, trading activities, agricultural and non-agricultural activities, role of different state and local officials towards the state and also about the condition of peasantry and common classes of the Mughal period.

Another important modern work written by S. Nurul Hasan is *"Religion, State and Society in Medieval India".* This work is very important in writing the history particularly about the different classes of *Zamindars* during the Mughal period and their role towards the state and society. Besides these, the work also provides information about the different agricultural activities, establishment of cities and towns and some traces from the past under different headings.

"The Mughal State" (1526-1750), by Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subramanyam is also important modern work highlighting the issues in details. This work provides us information about the different roles and responsibilities of the officials towards the state and the condition of the Mughal Empire through the prism of social and economic security. In this present work, a contribution has been made in writing about the role of the *Faujdar* and its institution towards the establishment of security and law and order throughout the Mughal period.

"The Mughal Administration" work of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is a complete descriptive and critical treatise on the administration of Mughal emperors of Delhi. It has covered the government, its character and aims, the sovereign and the departmental heads, provincial administration, taxation, law and justice, city administration, Mughal rule and achievements and failure besides other contents of Mughal administration. Sir J.N Sarkar' has given a detailed account of maintenance of internal security system and law and order in the different provinces of the empire. In the provincial administration, Sir J.N Sarkar has given a vivid account of provincial administrators. The upper administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of that of the central government. Sir J.N Sarkar has given a description about the officials under the *subedar* in the provinces like *Faujdar, Kotwal* and news reports and also their duties in their jurisdiction. All these agencies were the custodian of internal peace and security in their respective areas. The J.N Sarkar's work helped us very much to find out the role and function performed by different agencies in maintenance of internal security during the Mughal period.

Hameeda khatoon Naqvi**,** in her work, *"Urbanization and Urban Centers under the Great Mughals,"* has given a detailed account of natural endowments of empire, means of transport and communication, chief trading centres of empire and has also given an account of security measures and the agencies employed to maintain internal peace and security in the economic centres and trade routes of Mughal India. She mentions that in the medieval times measures were taken by Mughals to get the trade routes secured from highwaymen, robberies' and dacoits and the *Faujdars* along with his contingents were stationed in different parts of the empire to discharge their duties of providing security and maintenance of law and order and crush the alliance of the rebellions. H.K Naqvi has given an elaborate account of incidents of rebellions during the reign of Emperor Akbar which sustained defeat and failed in their ultimate objective but kept the administration disturbed and which in turn made security agencies on high alert in maintaining internal security system, law and order on the peak point. The work of H.K Naqvi also remained helpful for finding out the main role played by the security agencies throughout the Mughal Empire.

Ibn Hassan who in his work, **"***Central Structure of the Mughal Empire",* has also presented an outline of the organization of the administrative machinery of the

central government of the Mughal Empire under Akbar and its practical working under his two immediate successors who faithfully fallowed his policy, carried out the principles set by him and give his institution a permanent character. He has given as account of *wazir,* the second king of the state and his duties more difficult to perform than those of the king. He has given a detailed account of *Bakshi* in maintaining law and order and also received the news reports sent by *Waqia 'Navis* from different provinces about the security situation and put them before the king. Ibn Hassan has further given a detailed account about the *Kotwal* of the city, who was under the governor's direct supervision and was instructed about the offenders in the city brought before him either by subordinates or by the complainants themselves. The author of work has elucidated Akbar's role in the administration. He has written that Akbar organized the empire in provinces, instead of parcelling it out into military fiefs and thus established uniform system and institutions throughout the empire under direct control of capital. This guaranteed internal security against the oppression of the strong over the weak. This current work of Ibn Hassan *"The Central Structure of Mughal Empire"* also remained helpful for the research point of view in terms of protection guaranteed to the whole empire by the officials of the Mughal government.

"The Administration of Mughal Empire", by I. H. Qureshi, has given an account of different officials of Mughal Empire in his work. From the Mughal *harem* to the lowest unit of administration, a detailed account of the officials engaged in the maintenance of peace and security has been given. I.H Qureshi has given a detailed account of the provincial governor, who was also called as *subedar* and detailed account of *Zamindars* and other local officials about their duties in their respective areas. I.H. Qureshi has also given a description of news reports and secret spies for their efficient duties during Mughal period. The work of I.H Qureshi also proved very interesting and helpful for research work, especially in the field of security and the maintenance of law and order over the length and breadth of empire.

A detailed account about Mughal roads and communication system, travel and transport system, the difficulties and grievances of travellers and merchants and the remedial measures taken by the Mughal Emperors is presented by Abul Khair Muhammad Farooque in his work, *"Roads and Communication of Mughal India"*. Historically the present work is confined to the period from 1556-1707. The present

work of the author has reconstructed the picture of Mughal roads, travel and transport. In this work the author has consulted both contemporary and other Persian sources and the account of foreign travellers have been consulted which had made this work more coherent and acceptable. K.M Farooque also mentioned different steps taken by the Mughal emperors for the security and authority on roads, the security of merchants and caravans from the robbers and dacoits and how the culprits were punished by the authorities appointed in their respective areas. K.M Farooque has further presented the contribution of Mughals about the accurate intelligence and frequent information through the postal system. This work also provides detailed information about foreign travellers visit in Mughal India and also the difficulties faced by them due to inefficient internal security system in cities, towns and roads. Thus we can say that the present work of K.M Farooque is treasure of information about the internal security system of Mughals under different periods and different circumstances.

Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib in their work, *"The Cambridge Economic History of India", 1200-1750,* covered the state and economy of Mughal India. In this work, the authors has mentioned about the structure of economy during Mughal period and rising pressure of revenue demand on the peasantry by the *Zamindars* has been identified as the root cause of the internal disturbances. The work provides useful information regarding security guards or *Chaukis* on the highways where trade and commerce was carried out. The work also mentions about *jagirdars*, enjoying *Faujdari* or police jurisdiction as well. The work also mentions that the nature of the state created the demand for the disproportionately large army and its economic benefit included the contribution to the level of peace and security maintained by the Mughals. The work mentions about the agencies like *Faujdar, Kotwal, Qilahdars, and Mahaldars* with a body of armed retainers to maintain law and orders, punishment of criminals in their respective jurisdictions. The work also provides information regarding the economic security in different aspects and particularly about the whole Mughal administrative system. It also mentions about the security system of the urbanized centres of Mughal India. This work remained helpful in writing the economic security offered by the Mughals towards the state and society.

As for the present study, both modern works and contemporary sources were utilized. But the main focus of the study was based on the primary or contemporary sources. One of the earliest works is *'Tuzuk-i-Baburi'* tr. by A. S. Bevridge. It gives us a valuable insight into the roads and communication and establishment of security on Lahore to Kabul and Qandhar roads. This work also provides us information related to the establishment of communication network through different officials appointed at different stations. From this work we learnt how Babur tried to improve the roads and communication network and internal security and law and order.

The Gulbadan Begum's *'Hamayun Nama'* is a memoir on the life of Hamayun. It contains only brief interesting glimpses of the travelling of royal ladies and their aristocratic life.

For the reign of Akbar, "*Akbarnama*" of Abul Fazl is the most important and authentic history of Akbar's reign. It also describes some scenes of the condition of the roads, construction of *sarais*, the working of *Dak chaukis* and postal system and others details about the Mughal officials appointed in different areas.

The third Volume of "*Akbarnama*" i.e. Abul Fazl's "*Ain-i-Akbari"* is a huge treasure of statistical, administrative and other information. It provides a detailed account about the official's role and responsibility towards the maintenance of security and law and order in their respective jurisdiction. It also provides us information about the imperial regulations and rules, directives governing the departments from provincial to village level.

The *"Tarikh-i-Akbari*" of Arif Qandhari for Akbar's period is important for the study of Akbar's regulations and policies toward the state. This work is also important because it provides some information about the roads and communication system, policies towards the welfare of peasants, merchants and travellers and security and protection throughout the Mughal Empire.

The *"Tabakat-i-Akbari"* of Nizamuddin Ahmad is an account of political history about the Akbar's reign. It describes Akbar's military conquests and some accounts about the working of administration through different officials. It also provides information about the roads and communication system of Mughals.

The account of Jahangir from his memoir '*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri'* is very important source to construct every aspect of Mughal Empire during the reign of Jahangir. It provides a detailed account about the rules and regulations issued by Jahangir towards the establishment of better state. For the present study, it provides us very useful information regarding the peasant's security, policies towards the merchants and traders, welfare activities towards the common people, maintenance of internal security and communication network throughout the empire and his travel to distant provinces. Jahangir has also mentioned in his account about every aspect of security which gives us a deep insight into his thinking and perception towards the establishment of the Mughal authority.

The '*Ardhakanthaka'* of Banarsi Das Jain is an account written by Banarsi Das about his life history, his Jain community and the Mughal ruler's authority towards the business class. This account provides us information about the harshness and severities on Jain business communities by the Mughal officials. The author in this account mentioned that Mughal officials never provide relief and protection and always suppressed them by force and power.

The history of Gujarat '*Mirat-i-Ahmadi'* (supp.) written by Ali Mohammad Khan is also an account of considerable merit. It provides us a detailed account about the history of Gujarat during the Mughal period and account of number of *farmans* issued by the Mughal emperor and different administrative regulations. Besides these, it also provides us information about the working of different officials, lists of *Parganas* and working of officials at different levels of administration.

The account *"Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui*", written by Sheikh Rizquallah Mushtaqui is an important account about the history and rule of Shershah Sur. It provides us information in detail about the Shershah's administrative policies and how he administers his empire from east in Bengal to Attock in northwest. This account is most valuable for writing about the security and law and order maintained by Shershah through different officials appointed at every corner of his empire. It also gives us detail insight into the working of administrative measures and policies towards the welfare of the people of his state. This work also provides us information about the working of information network and the different types of officials appointed for this task. Besides these, the account has mentioned in detail about the

establishment of *sarais*, *thanas*, forts and number of highways which remained very helpful in writing about the administrative policies formulated by Shershah towards the welfare of the people of his state.

The political histories of Aurangzeb's period like Ishwar Das Nagar's '*Futuhat-i-Alamgiri'*, Saqi Mustai'd Kahn's '*Maasir-i-Alamgiri',* are very important sources to construct the administrative role played by Aurangzeb toward his state. These sources are valuable in writing the working of administrative institutions, postal and communication network throughout the Mughal Empire.

Besides these some important sources, the surviving accounts of some European travellers and merchants who travelled through the Mughal territories during the Mughal emperor's up to Aurangzeb had left a valuable information about the Mughal administrative institutions and their policies towards the state and foreigners. Some of the important accounts are:

"The Commentary of Father Monserate" is one of the earliest European accounts mentioning about the period of Akbar. This work mentioned different aspects of Mughals and their policies towards the state. It is very important account to study the policies framed by Akbar towards the welfare activities and sympathy towards the Christian missionaries.

The account of Venetian traveller Nicollao Manucci` '*Storio Do Mogor'* is very important account to study the policies framed and formulated by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb towards the state. It is very much worthy in respect to policies like security of merchants and travellers, establishment of efficient communication network, rebellion of *Zamindars* and their suppression, welfare activities like construction of *sarais*, hospitals and roads etc. This work has mentioned in details the social and political life if Mughals and their contribution towards the establishment of peaceful atmosphere.

"The travels in Mughal Empire" by Francois Bernier is also an important account which throws light on different aspects of Mughal administrative policies. It is valuable account in writing the relation of Mughals with the *Rajput Rajas*. In this account Bernier has mentioned how Mughals utilized the services of *Rajput Rajas* in the maintenance of peace and security on Mughal highways and roads passing

through their territories and how these *Rajas* and Mughals strengthened their relations. This account also provides information about the social and political life of Mughals and their role towards the state and society.

"*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*" is an important account contributing toward the relation between Mughals and Europeans. This account provides information about the trading relations and policies formulated by the Mughals for free trade with English merchants and traders. This account is very helpful in writing the different aspects of the Mughal's contribution towards the establishment of free trading activities and also the safety and security of foreign merchants and travellers.

Besides these European accounts, there are many other traveller accounts and English factory records which gives us deep insight into the working of Mughal administration and their policies towards the safety and security of the peoples and state. There are also number of other works which provided great help in studying the nature and aspects of Mughal policies towards the internal security and administration of the state. In order to review the study of modern historians, we have also consulted a large number of research papers and journals related to Mughal period to analyse the new trends of historiography for writing the research work. In this study an attempt has been made to reconstruct from the available records a clear and coherent picture of the internal security system of Mughal India.

After considering the primary works, foreign traveller accounts and some modern works, the research has been completed entitled as ***"Internal Security System of Mughal India"***, which is divided into seven chapters.

The first chapter is **"Issues of Internal Security",** which throws light on the number of issues which Mughals faced throughout their empire, such as problems of strategic areas, peasants insecurity, issue of intoxicants, problems faced from the side of Zamindars, issue of security of roads and trade and commerce, issue of security in cities and towns, issue of taxation policy and number of other issues which Mughals repeatedly faced from the side of peasantry classes. In this chapter we have tried to show the problems related to internal security faced by the Mughal emperors.

The second chapter is entitled as **“Institution of the enforcement of law and order in cities and towns”.** In this chapter we have tried to show that how Mughals maintained a high level of security and law and order in cities and towns through the office of *Muhtasib* and *Kotwal*. In this chapter we have mentioned different types of duties performed by these officials in cities and towns towards the safety and security of the people. In this chapter we have mentioned how *Muhtasib* (censor of public morals) and *Kotwal* became successful in uprooting the criminal activities and providing safety to the common people in cities and towns.

The chapter third is entitled as **“Institution of Intelligence and Information.”** In this chapter we have mentioned different types of officials appointed for providing intelligence and information such as *Waqai Nawis, Swanih Nawis Khufia, Nawis, Harkaras, Jasus* or *Munhiyans, Mewras* or runners and also the working of *Dak Chaukis* and postal system. Through these officials Mughals became successful in receiving regular flow of news and information of every part of the Mughal Empire. Due to this information network, Mughals maintained extensive authority over the whole Empire.

The fourth chapter deals with **“Security at *Pargana* and Village level.”** In this chapter we have mentioned how security was maintained and provided at different levels from *Pargana* to village level. In this chapter we have first mentioned official’s role such as *Faujdar*, *Shiqdar*, *Thanedar*, *Amin*, *Amil* and *Zamindar’s* responsibility towards the security at *Pargana* level. At village level *Muqaddam*, who was the headman of the village was largely and directly responsible for the prosperity of peasants and cultivators. The officials appointed at *Pargana* and village level were held responsible for any crime and safety of the people in their jurisdiction. The roads and highways passing through their jurisdiction were also maintained by them. Through these measures taken by them, security and protection was provided to everyone.

The fifth chapter is entitled as **“Security of Highways and Trade and Commerce.”** In this chapter we have first mentioned different aspects of security of highways and how Mughals and Shershah Sur adopted various measures to maintain effective security on the roads and ensure peaceful movement of merchants and travellers. In this chapter we have mentioned different types of facilities provided

through the construction of *Sarais*, *thanas* and check posts on the highways for providing security. In this chapter we have also given some accounts related to *Rajput Rajas* who were also held responsible for security of roads and highways passing through their territories. We have also mentioned further about the security to trade and commerce. In establishing huge network of trading activities, Mughals issued certain regulations towards the security of merchants and traders (both local and foreign). These regulations issued by the Mughal Emperors regarding the betterment of merchants and trading activities indicated that they took a special interest in the promotion of trade and commerce. In this chapter we have also mentioned that due to these measures, large number of merchants from all over Asia and Europe started coming to Mughal cities, which gives us a proof of high level of security maintained by the Mughals for the merchants and traders.

The sixth chapter is entitled as **"Taxes on the Peoples for Security Measures."** In this chapter we have mentioned how Mughals realized taxes and what measures were taken by the Mughals to abolish illegal taxes to protect the peasants, merchants and traders from the oppression. In this chapter we have first mentioned that Mughal emperors collected revenue and certain other taxes from the different sections of the society for the services performed by the Mughal officials towards them. During the Mughal period taxes were basically imposed and collected by the state for the protection from the internal revolts and external aggressions. In this chapter we discussed different types of taxes realized in order to protect the peasants and trading concerns such as wages of protection in the form of land revenue and other agricultural cesses, *Rahadari*, a tax on roads and highways for security measures, custom duties on trade and commerce such as *Tamgha* (stamp tax), *Pandhari* (installation tax) and *Mir Bhari* (river tolls). Besides these taxes we have also mentioned other small cesses realized the Mughal officials. But in this chapter we have also mentioned in details about the regulations issued by the Mughal emperors towards the abolition of taxes as a protective and security measure for promoting trade and commerce.

The seventh and last chapter is entitled as **"Impact of Internal Security on the Socio-political life of the Mughal Empire."** In this chapter we tried to show the impact of different policies formulated by the Mughal emperors, which remained positive in nature and more responsive towards the welfare of the people. In this

chapter we have mentioned the different impacts of internal security under different headings, such as

1) Protection and security in cities and towns increased.

2) Intoxicants and harmful drugs were controlled.

3) Protection of peasants and crops increased.

4) Cultivable land and crop production also increased.

5) Trade and commerce expanded.

6) Security of roads and highways increased.

7) *Thanas* and military check posts were setup to protect merchants and travellers.

8) Compensations were given in case of theft or robbery of goods.

9) Taxes were abolished to promote trade and commerce.

10) *Farmans* and duty free passes were given to increase foreign trade.

11) Relations between Mughals and regional states strengthened and they became the partners of Mughal Empire.

12) Stability and security increased through effective intelligence and communication network.

The concept of internal security for the Mughals was to carry on political and economic activities without any hindrance. Therefore Mughals established several administrative institutions for connecting one part of the Mughal Empire to other and to maintain law and order through these agencies. Even Shershah was also confident about his policies towards the security of the empire. He was of the view that *"a king should not have a corrupt vakils or wazirs: for a receiver of bribes is dependent on the giver of bribes and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of the wazir, for he is an interested personage and to an interested person, loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom is lost."* Therefore Shershah maintained effective administrative institutions for the establishment of his own empire.

In the concluding lines we can say that the internal security and law and order brought prosperity and sense of security to the whole Mughal Empire. There is no doubt that there was also some negligence from the side of some Mughal officials toward their duties, but Mughals always remained serious towards the internal security and safeguarding of the empire and also brought the consolidation of the empire and territorial integrity.

Chapter-1

Issues of internal security

The maintenance of internal security had been a cause of serious concern for Mughals about safeguarding the empire and territorial integrity against any internal and external aggression. The internal security situations which the Mughals faced repeatedly throughout the Mughal period was particularly a matter of concern for protecting the all the sections and working classes of the Mughal empire i.e. peasants, merchants, traders, travelers besides these, the foreign trading companies.

Mughal economy was based on the revenue which particularly comes from land. So, all the working classes engaged in the cultivation and other agricultural activities became the first concern of Mughals regarding their security and welfare. The other socio-economic activities like trade and commerce, realization of taxes from non-agricultural activities were also under the security cover of Mughals. The taxes collected by the Mughals from non-agricultural activities were also a part of Mughal revenue. So it became compulsory for Mughal authorities to provide security and safe conduct to these classes of non-agricultural activities.

The maintenance of internal security was the chief responsibility of the Mughals and their officials under different agencies appointed in their respective territories i.e. in *Jagirs* and *Khalisa* lands. There is a general perception that the responsibility for the internal security management essentially involves the Mughal *Subedars*, *Faujdars*, *Jagirdars*, *Kotwals* etc. but the core responsibility of internal security lies behind the policies formulated by the Mughal Emperors.

The Mughal State was basically a military state based on *'Zawabit'* i.e. state laws. The military pressure alone could not resolve all the matters unless there was good governance, with a strong thrust on socio-political and socio-economic issues. So, the Mughals made civil and political administration of the empire very effective and efficient in their day today work.

After the establishment of Mughal Empire in India by Babur in 1526, there were a lot of obstacles faced by them related to internal security of the empire. Even after him, his successors also faced a lot of problems due to the issues of internal security. Mughals penetrated India through northwest side and with a period of time

all the Mughal Emperors up to the Aurangzeb, annexed the larger part of Indian subcontinent. In order to govern the large part of empire, there were large numbers of issues which they had faced in order to run the administrative machinery. These issues which were related to the internal security of Mughal Empire are discussed below.

1. Areas under the Mughals and their strategic problems:

The areas which were under the control of Mughals, situated on the strategic locations created issue of security and law and order problems for the Mughals in these areas. During the period of Babur, when he established his rule in India, there erupted a lot of problems from the northwest frontier areas. The northwest areas were very vulnerable for attacks. In order to secure his empire from the attacks and also to keep in contact with the news of Kabul, Babur realized that there is need of security policy to secure the northwest frontier areas. The issue of security from the northwest frontier was very serious concern for the Babur, because the road between the Agra and Kabul was very much important for trade and commerce and large number of peoples also migrates through this route to India. For these issues Babur realized to frame a policy to overcome the situation of insecurity to the newly established Mughal Empire in India.[1] There were other regions also which were independent of the Mughal Empire. These areas were under the control of *Rajput rajas* or *Zamindars*. The Mughals realized that these powerful *Rajput rajas* were not able to be subjugated, as they would be proved dangerous opponents to Mughals. These *Rajput rajas* having at all times the means of taking the field with twenty thousand cavalry and were always ready to defend themselves from opponents. They were good mercenaries and disciplined soldiers. The Mughals were not able to control them as they increased their strength considerably after joining of other *rajas* against the Mughals.[2] In order to overcome this situation of insecurity prevailing from the *Rajput* side as their regions were located on strategic positions and to root out the causes of rebellion or joining of hands of regional groups against the Mughals, a new frame work was needed to make an alliance with them to maintain a political and economic stability in the empire. As Satish Chandra has mentioned that about the relations with the *Rajput Zamindars*, a new thinking has developed that the *Rajput* policy was a part and parcel of a longer policy of alliance with the *Zamindars*, because after the expulsion of Mughals from India by the *Afghans*, it had been realized by the Mughals that they would not be able to rule over India without the alliance of the *Zamindars*.[3] Thus we

can assume that this issue of maintaining stability throughout the Mughal Empire, the Mughals needed to adopt a policy of alliance with the regional rulers to maintain the stability and create peaceful atmosphere in their territories.

There were also some turbulent tribes in the province of Kabul which created problem for the Mughal officers as they were hostile towards them. The issue for the Mughals was how to guard the province against the hostile movement on the part of the *Persians*, *Afghans* and *Baluchis*.[4] In the province of Kashmir, there were also some areas which lie on strategic zones and were most vulnerable to rebellions. The hilly and mountainous areas were under their control and different routes also passed through their areas. The issue before the Mughals was how to establish security on these frontier regions and keep roads safe from the insecurity and harassment.[5]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Gujarat was economically a strong province. Aurangzeb observes that the Gujarat is the best province of Hindustan. This place is full of traders and artisans (*ahl-i-kasab-o-hunar*). People of Gujarat were good tradesmen and artisans and in that province there were large number of '*shahi-karkhanas'* located.[6] In order to go to Gujarat from Delhi and Agra, there were two routes first via modern Haryana and Rajasthan and whole Rajputana was under the control of autonomous chiefs. Being Gujarat as largest centre of trade and commerce, the issue was how merchants from Delhi and Agra had to go to Gujarat with security and confidence.

2. Peasants insecurity:

The issue of insecurity of peasants was not only related to the collection of taxes through harshly and mercilessly by the intermediaries and Mughal revenue officials. But there were certain other issues related to peasant's insecurity during the Mughal period, e.g. issue of famines, peasant's migration, oppression, and harassment and social security etc.

The peasants during the Mughal period were the revenue paying agency and Mughals appointed large number of officials to collect taxes from these peasants regularly according to the regulations laid down by the Mughal emperors. But there emerged a number of obstacles in collection of taxes by the officials and in response to this; the peasants also faced the grudge of Mughals during revenue collection.

The famines were also the worst cause of sufferings of the people. The word famine is in itself a curse. In Mughal period the famines were frequent whether due to scarcity of rainfall or excess of rainfall which destroyed the crops. The contemporary historians have mentioned in their accounts that they were eyewitness of famines and starvation of the common peoples. The destruction of crops and large scale suffering of peoples plunged them into the world of sufferings. The famines some times were so much acute that the starving people sold their children. In 1579, there was a drought in Kashmir, where people having no means of nourishing or feeding their children, exposed them for sale in the market or public places.[7] This was the higher level of insecurity faced by the peasants during the Mughal period.

The regular migration of peasants was another issue of insecurity during the Mughal period. The migration of peasants was mainly due to the droughts and famines, increase in the revenue demand, rebellions and law and order problems. The Mughal officials, who were appointed to collect revenue from the peasants, collected in accordance with the regulations (*dastur-ul-amals*). But sometimes, they harassed the peasants and cultivators during the revenue collection, whether there was drought or famine and collected revenue very harshly. These revenue collectors so much oppressed the peasants and cultivators that they left their homes and fields and migrated to other places especially the non-Mughal areas or areas of local *Rajas*, so that they could live in a peaceful and secure life and also free from oppression of revenue collectors.[8] The peasants after escaping the tyranny of officials left the fields uncultivated and empty, due to which a famine like situation occurred in that areas. Sometimes due to the oppression on peasants by the Mughal officials, the poor peasants abandoned their cultivation and migrated to the towns or camps as bearers of burden, carriers of water or servants or horseman in order to relieve themselves from the oppression.[9] Due to the oppression and harassment of peasants, the issue emerged here that how to create a balance between the peasants and the revenue collection process, so that there would be no harassment of peasants and cultivators, no lawlessness or rebellious activities which created disturbance during revenue collection, safety and social security of peasants, compensation to peasants in distress and famines. These issues if Mughals would have taken into confidence and consideration, there would not have been an abandonment of cultivable land and large scale migration of peasants to non-Mughal territories.

3. Issue of Intoxicants:

The excessive use of chemical substances is refuted by every society. During the Mughal period the use of chemical substances or intoxicants causing dizziness or unconsciousness were commonly practiced. The use of intoxicating drugs like bhang or drinking of wine was prepared and sold commonly during Mughal period. These immoral activities like drinking sprits and bhang in cities and towns were commonly used which led to the evil practices and social disorder. Even some times creates law and order problems. According to Nicollao Manucci, "large scale of *arrack* (spirits) was prepared in Mughal period".[10] During the reign of Jahangir a large amount of wine or *darbahra* (rice spirits) or other kinds of intoxicating drugs were also prepared.[11] During the reign of Aurangzeb, drinking of spirits was common. The Christians also prepared and sell wine, which led to the large scale immoral activities in the cities.[12] The continuous law and order and insecurity problems caused due to the drunkenness led the people to practice evil practices and disturb the administrative machinery in cities and towns. In order to curb these immoral activities, the issue of maintaining social security, and suppression of other forbidden activities due to the intoxicating substances was very critical issue before the Mughals Emperors.

4. *Zamindars* and law and order problems:

The term *Zamindar* was in use from sultanate period onwards, but the term *Zamindar* gained frequency during the Mughal period. It was basically used to denote the various holders of hereditary interests, ranging from powerful independent and autonomous chieftains to the petty intermediaries at the village level.

Zamindars in the Mughal period were classified by Nurul Hasan in three broad categories i.e. the autonomous chieftains, the intermediary *Zamindars* and the primary *Zamindars*.[13] In order to maintain a balance between various regional groups and to overcome the situation of rebellion or joining of hands of regional groups against the Mughal Empire, a careful and rigid administrative structure was needed to enforce the laws. From Akbar's period onwards, the Mughals established an alliance with *Zamindars* and local ruling class of different regions. This alliance was developed in order to maintain a political and economic stability in the empire. Satish Chandra has mentioned that about the relations with the Rajput *Zamindars*, as we have already mentioned in this chapter in relation to security of strategic areas that Rajput policy

was a part and parcel of a longer policy of alliance with the *Zamindars*, because after the expulsion of Mughals from India by the Afghans, it had been realized by the Mughals that they would not be able to rule over India without the alliance of *Zamindars*. But with the period of time these *Zamindars* and local ruling classes started to create problems for the Mughals. Actually, there erupted a clash of interests between the Mughal government and *Zamindars*. The administrative problems which Mughal emperor started to face were due to the activities of *Zamindars*. But at the same time the administration had to depend on their support. No doubt, there emerged a constant struggle between the Mughal government and the *Zamindars* for a greater share of the produce, but it was the *Zamindars* who had also to follow the imperial regulations for the stability of the Mughal Empire.[14] Some times when *Zamindars* got an opportunity, they started working against the imperial government and sometimes there erupted conflicts which led to the clashes, disturb law and order and seriously weakened the administrative and military power of the state.

The *Zamindars* especially chiefs hardly ever missed the opportunity of taking advantage of difficulties facing the Mughal empire. E.g the chieftains of Orissa and Bengal supported Shahjahan against his father, but they quickly deserted the rebel prince when he was defeated by the imperial forces and sometimes due to various difficulties, the Mughal government was unable to maintain its military pressure on the *Zamindars*, led to the revolt in their respective *Parganas* with the support of lower class *Zamindars* and sometime peasants also e.g. in the 17th century during the period of Aurangzeb, the chieftains of Maharashtra, Bundelkhand, Mewat and Rajputana took up arms against the Mughal empire with the support of lower classes of *Zamindars* and peasants.[15] The *Zamindars* who were tributary chiefs of Mughals when got an opportunity also marched against the imperial forces e.g. the *Zamindar* of Chital Durg, who had been humiliated by Qasim Khan, came to fight with his some thousand infantry on getting an opportunity against Qasim Khan.[16] In almost every *subah*, there were different types of revolts by the *Zamindars*. Irfan Habib's study on certain documents assumed that the main danger to law and order came from *Zamindars*, who refused to pay the land revenue.[17] These *Zamindars* were sometimes regarded as '*Zortalab Zamindars'*.

The *Zamindars* sometimes showed resistance and rebellion against the Mughals regularly. E.g. *Raja* Sangram, the chieftain of Kharakpur in Bihar, incurred

the displeasure of the Mughal Emperor.[18] During the reign of Akbar, *Zamindars* of Jammu also made a long hand of oppression against the villagers of *Pargana* Muzaffarawal and Bahlulpur and created a problem of insecurity and law and order in these *Parganas*.[19]

During the Mughal period, the inhabitants and travellers passing through the areas of *Zamindars* were oppressed and all their belongings were robbed. The robberies and dacoits on the highways which were under the control of *Zamindari* areas became a serious concern for Mughals. The securities of the travellers on the roads were neglected and the wayfarers remained insecure and disturbed due to the negligence of duties related to law and order and security by the *Zamindars*. These aspects necessitated the process of engaging the *Zamindars* with the Mughal emperors for peaceful movement of travellers and maintenance of law and order in their respective areas. But what aspects would have been applied by the Mughals to control the *Zamindars*, so that there would not have been any insecurity and law and order problem and what measures were taken by the *Zamindars* to look after and perform welfare activities in their areas has been discussed in the next chapters..

The *Zamindars* were expected by the Mughals to keep their respective areas in proper law and order, so that there would be no insecurity to both Mughal and non-Mughal areas. The issue here erupted that how Mughals would have made them responsible to take action against the culprits and use suitable measures to overcome the situation of instability e.g. a *farman* of Shahjahan (1656-1657) addressed to Rai Akhej Raj, states that the thefts had been committed in the '*Mahal'* which was a part of his *Zamindari*. The issue here is what measures he would have taken to restore the stolen property to the rightful owner and safeguard the territory.[20] Most of the administrative difficulties which the Mughals had to face were the result of the *Zamindari* activities and at the same time the Mughal had to heavily depend upon their support.[21]

Now here we came across with certain issues that a number of problems Mughal faced due to the *Zamindari* activities and how and why Mughals remained dependent heavily on the certain *Zamindars* for their support. So these are some of the issues which needed a detailed analysis and study.

5. Issue of security of roads and trade and commerce:

During the Mughal period roads and highways were very essential for the establishment of efficient administrative machinery throughout the empire. The establishment of highways connecting every part of Mughal Empire was very much important to break the physical and political isolation of every part of empire, so that a uniform administration was to be carried out smoothly.

The security on the roads and trade and commerce was very much needed in order to protect the peoples passing through different regions and supply of food grains and essential commodities from one region to another region. The roads passing through the populated areas were inhabited by notorious thieves and robbers. The tribes of Afghans inhabited between Kabul and Indus molested travellers and merchants.[22] The *Rajputs* and *Kolis* also created disturbances and insecurity problems on the highways. These *rajputs* and *kolis* were naturally disobedient, addicted to theft, highway robbery and sedition.[23] These notorious peoples always created troubles to travellers and merchants whenever passing through their areas. To protect the travellers and merchants from night raiders, efficient and safe rest houses were required throughout the highways and important roads connecting a large trading centers and cities throughout the Mughal Empire were also required. Even during Akbar's period, the security of royal travellers was very much important throughout their journey. So it became an issue for the Mughals emperors that how to maintain a security of their royal guests and family members on the highways and the areas which would be passed by them.[24] Even on the dangerous places and roads, the travellers were molested and harassed. These areas were very much in need of law and order and it became very pertinent for the Mughals that how to establish *sarais* and *thanas* in these dangerous places and to attach some brave men in each *thana* to protect travellers from the harassment.[25]

Akbar visited Kashmir three times and always through Rajauri. He felt the need to protect the road from Kashmir to Lahore and to Kabul, because large numbers of travellers and merchants travelled through this road. In order to secure these roads from robbery and harassment, a large number of officials were required and Akbar felt a need to establish cordial relations with the *Rajas* of Rajauri for the garrison and to guard the road.[26] So the issue of security here was how Akbar made them

responsible for the security of highways and trade and commerce on the Mughal road to Kashmir. Even during the reign of Jahangir, the issue of security of the Mughal road was very much important and how Jahangir sorts out it through efficient administrative skills, so as to overcome insecurity problems on the Mughal road.[27]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the roads and highways passing through the territories of *Rajput rajas* were not also considered safe as they harassed travellers and merchants. Tavernier while travelling through the town of Kalabagh mentioned that formerly a great *raja* resided in that town and also paid tribute to the great Mughals. Generally when travellers and caravans passed through his territory, the merchants were robbed and they also extracted dues from travellers and merchants, but Aurangzeb cutoff his head and his large number of turbulent subjects.[28] Aurangzeb inflicted such punishments so that the others would also leave this filthy job of harassing travellers. But through this kind of management to tackle the issue of insecurity on the highways would not work for long run. There was a need of regular and systematic safeguard for the security of highways and trade and commerce. So, the issue here erupted that how to control the areas under the *Rajput Rajas,* where the Mughal highways and roads interconnected and which would provide safe passage and transit to travellers and merchants.

The issue of security to trade and commerce and merchants was not only consideration here but some merchant communities also wanted to secure their trading activities and protection and safety during the Mughal period. The merchant communities like *Oswal* community, who were extremely rich jewelers realized to secure their families by establishing relations with the powerful persons during the Mughal period.[29]

During the Mughal period, the security of merchant communities was very much important issue for the Mughal Emperors because a large amount of revenue was collected from trade and commerce maintained by the merchant communities throughout the Mughal empire and were also part of banking concerns which yield Mughal empire very much in securing their fortunes. So it became pertinent for the Mughal emperors and officials to determine the issue of security and protection for traders and merchant communities throughout the Mughal period in order that there would be no halt in trading activities.

6. Issue of security in cities and towns:

With the establishment of Mughal Empire in India, new cities and towns were established and those which were already established during the sultanate period were renovated or deserted. In order to make them functional and well established, efficient administrative machinery was very much required in order to regulate the Mughal laws and regulations. The cities and towns during the Mughal period were governed by the officials appointed by the Mughals.

The Mughals appointed officials like *subedars*, *faujdars*, *qilahdars*, *thanadars* for maintaining law and order at provincial levels. But to make their presence available especially in cities and towns, Mughals generally required important officials for maintaining security, law and order. The cities during Mughal period were also crowded with large number of inhabitants and security of people living in cities and large towns was very much necessary in order to regulate administrative machinery in the populated areas peacefully.

In Mughal cities and towns, a large number immoral and unlawful activities were performed which led to insecurity among the inhabitants. Mughals were very much concerned with the safety and security of peoples in cities and towns and the issue was to establish security and law and order through efficient and obligatory officials to be appointed at different levels and in different localities.

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Chapter-2

Institution of the enforcement of law and order in cities and towns

The cities and towns were no more than group of adjoining villages, which indeed was common in the case when outlying villages were absorbed into the expanding periphery of pre-existing settlement. The Indo-Muslim governments concerned themselves with little beyond the levying of taxes, the maintenance of internal security and few additional functions, such as the regulation of the markets, and the provision of water supply.[1] The arrival of *Turks* in India led to the emergence of political integration and establishment of towns with the help of establishing trade contacts with the Central India and West Asia. This was an important factor in the process of growth of towns in India in 13th and 14th centuries. When sultanate period started to decline there was no shrinkage of towns. But this period witnessed the establishment of new towns. As during the Tughluq period due to the expansion of agriculture with the network of canals, the improvement of horticulture and establishment of large number of gardens, the growth of towns increased during this period.[2]

According to Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, "Urbanization envisages a state of development where among other things, a compact growth of inhabitants within a delimited area, a centralized governing persons and industries as a considerably productive unit"[3]. To write of the cities of the Mughal India as being for the most part of self regulating may be to exaggerate the case. It would perhaps be more accurate to attribute in self regulatory role to the wards and quarters (*Mahal, Mahalla*) into which every city or town was subdivided. Many '*Mahallas'* would be able to provide atleast some of the basic needs of the inhabitants, while their sense of group identity, and what distinguish them from the residents of other *Mahallas* was reinforced in many cases by the fact that the *Mahalla* was walled off from its neighbours, with gates which could be closed at night or during period of disorder and insecurity. Within each quarter, most matters of concern to the community as a whole could be settled by the arbitration of the *panchayat* or a respected elder. Appeals beyond the bounds of the *mahalla* to a representative of the imperial government (such as *Qazi* or *Kotwal*), although sometimes unavoidable were probably only restored to on rare occasions. Such appeals could be unpredictable in their outcome and likely to provide costly,

even dangerous[4]. J. N. Sarkar (*Mughal Administration*) has mentioned that in the modern capital or very large city during the Mughal period, only Taxation, central market, internal security and arterial roads were the concern of the Mughal government, while other amenities of modern city were regarded absolutely private affairs and were left to the citizens individually[5]. Satish Chandra has mentioned that the pattern of small towns differ from region to region and also from area to area. He has stressed on the point that in the sultanate period a '*Qasba'* was a village with a port, in the 16th and 17th century a *Qasba* was a village with a market. So the entire concept of *Qasba* changed during the period.[6] The towns also played an important cultural role. During the medieval period, the towns i.e. *Qasba* were connected to each other through trade and commerce. Due to this economic network, there was a proliferation of cultures and emergence of new economic and political sections in the towns.

The Indo-Muslim state did not recognize the city as possessing a distinct community character, there did not exist any system through which the state dealt with the cities at high level, except through the provincial officials (*Subedars*, *Faujdars* etc.), whose charges are delineated territorially in terms of an entire *Suba* or *Sarkar*. Mughals did not appoint city governors as such, although *Qilahdars* were appointed to the command of strategically important fortresses. Some fortresses were nearby to the towns of some important in their own right, but the duties of the *Qiladar* did not normally extend beyond the fortress walls.[7]

The officials appointed by the Mughals to make their will felt especially in the cities and towns were *Qazis*, *Muhtasibs* and *Kotwals*. These officials were generally appointed to take care of the law and order situation in cities and towns. The duties performed by these officials overlapped somewhere in performing day today work.

A. *Qazi* and his duties:

The *Qazi* who is judicial officer in the town was appointed by the *Sadr-us-Sadar* after receiving the *Sanad* from the office of *Sadar*. The city Qazi, besides his personal rank *mansab* and emoluments keeps twenty horses and also receives daily allowances in cash and held land for service which was arranged according to his local requirements.[8] In the *Munshaat-i-Namakin,* the duties of *Qazi* was to administer town along with its dependencies in an area extending over twenty *karoh* into twenty

Karoh independently and this might have been the limit of the jurisdiction of the *Qazi* during Mughal period. But among the duties of *Qazi*, it enumerates certain functions which were normally considered to be associated with the office of *Muhtasib*. For example, destruction of wine and other intoxicants, suppression of unlawful and forbidden activities and ensuring the observation of religious duties and obligations are clearly included among the traditional responsibilities of the *Mutasib*. But these duties were also included among the responsibilities of the *Qazi*.[9]

B. *Muhtasib* (censor of public morals):

The next officer to administer the cities and towns was *Muhtasib*. It was one of the unique offices that was established and became influential in medieval states. The useful and important post was created by the *Calipha* Mehdi and has existed ever since in Islamic countries.[10] But later on the candidate was often selected by the judge and approved by the sovereign of the state.[11] During the Mughal period, the post of *Muhtasib* was different in some aspects from the Islamic countries of Middle-east. The *Muhtasib* worked according to the *Sharia* and Mughal State was not based on *Sharia*, because large number of population was non-Muslim and due to which much emphasis was not given to this post during early Mughal period. As according to Muhammad Zamiruddin Siddiqui (*the Muhtasib under Auranzeb*) has mentioned that prior to the rule of Aurangzeb, the office of the *Muhtasib* did not exist in the Mughal empire and the non-religious duties of the office viz. censorship of public morals and supervision of markets was performed by the *Kotwal* and *Qazi*,[12] as I have already discussed that the *Munshaat-i-Namakin* has also mentioned the traditional responsibilities of *Muhtasib* are included among the responsibilities of *Qazi*[13]. During the Mughal period particularly from Akbar's period onward, the duties of the *Muhtasib* were performed by the *Kotwal*. But during the reign of Aurangzeb i.e. after 1659, he revived the virtually defunct office of *Muhtasib*,[14] as in order to suppress the immoral activities like drinking spirits and bhang from cities and towns and appointed an official under the title of *Muhtasib*, whose business was to prevent the public from these evil practices and maintain social order in cities and towns.[15]

Appointment of *Muhtasib*: The *Muhtasib* for the city and the towns were appointed by the *Diwan* with the approval of the *Sadr-us-Sadar* or head of Judicial Department at Delhi[16] according to the royal *Sanad*. His personal rank was that of 250 and he had

ten horse men under his order. He also received assistance of some cavalry and infantry from the *Nazim* to help him to execute the commandants and prohibition of the law. The *Muhtasib* of the towns receive cash and land suited to the condition of that place.[17]

<u>Duties of *Muhtasib*</u>: The *Muhtasib* had to perform duties of varied nature. His functions included both religious and secular duties. As a religious officer, he had to enforce the Islamic code of Do's and Don'ts (*amr o nawahi*).[18] While the secular duties of *Muhtasib* embraces his municipal functions and market supervision. The *Muhtasib* with his armed men used to go about in cities and towns, to prevent the drinking and selling of wine, bhang, gambling and other un-Islamic practices. He also checks weights and measures in the market.[19] He also checked the articles of food and forbid the sale of adulterated vendible. He removes obstruction from the streets and dirt and sin of drinking and adultery. He controls brothels and gambling dens.[20] Akbar in order to purify the whole empire from the immoral practices ordered to remove public shops (drinking houses), brothels, and gambling dens and sacrificed the substantial revenues from these places.[21] The *Muhtasib* exercised very little judicial powers. Undoubtedly, as a small number of troopers were placed at his command and he performed the functions of police in enforcing the Islamic code of morality and the market ruler and also held summary trials of immoral violations of regulations, yet he was not a court of justice. An aggrieved person could not submit his complaint to the *Muhtasib* or *Muhtasib* could summon any accused to his presence for the disposal of a case since it was the function and within the jurisdiction of *Qazi* and then the duty of the *Kotwal* was to inflict the punishment.[22]

The *Muhtasib* post regarding the censor of public morals in cities and towns declined after the death of Aurangzeb and the *Kotwal* had to undertake this responsibility in addition to the maintenance of law and order duties.[23]

C. ***Kotwal***: The only officer appointed by the government to make its will felt specifically in cities and towns was the *Kotwal* or perfect police officer, whose office date back to the early years of Delhi Sultanate. But according to R. P. Pandey in his article (*Administration of Justice through Kotwal during the Mughal period*), has mentioned that the autocratic role of *Kotwal* was quite contrary to the original role of the *Kotapala* (Defender of Fort) in the times of

Hindu Kingdoms of 9th century, from which the former word had been derived. He has also quoted western scholar like Sir R. Burn that the word *Kotwal* is of Persian origin. But the Hindi *Shabda Sagar* as also other Persian dictionaries corroborates the origin of the word from *Kotapala*. He further states that the *Bhagalpur Grant* of Narayanpal (A.D. 875-900) mentions *Kotapala* as an officer in-charge of forts and in the *Gujar-Pratihara plates* of the same era the word *Kotapala* has been used in the same sense. Even after the invasion of Muhammad Ghazni, the word *Kotwal* began to be referred as officer of forts in Ghazni and there is reference to the appointment of *Kotwals* in many places down to the period of Delhi Sultanate. However, Dr. R. P. Pandey here completed his statement that during the Mughal rule in India, the *Kotwal* assumed the role of officer as well as administrator of criminal justice,[24] which is also mentioned by number of historians.

The term *Kotwal* is also mentioned by the *Tuzukat-i-Timuri*, that to every town *Kutaul* (*Kotwal*) was appointed who look after the civilians and the soldiers and was responsible for everything that was stolen. He was also appointed to take care of the four sides of the camp, to collect taxes from the merchants of the bazaar and to prevent theft. So the function of the bearer of this title was more or less identical with that of high ranking policemen.[25] During the Sultanate period the *Kotwal* duties were very highly acceptable. The *Kotwal* was authority as a chief police officer who received the royal orders and *farmans* to put the culprits under trail and punished them for showing disrespect to the royal authority and sanctity. During the time of Sultan Kaikubad (the son of Bughra Khan) in the year 1288-1289 A. D, Ajbar Khan finding that he had lost the favour of Sultan and when he approached the royal presence, he did not greeted with "*Bismillah*" at which the Sultan was upset. A *farman* was issued to *Malik Kotwal* (Fakhr-ud-din) ordering him to address Ajbar khan with the following words, that he had broken sanctity of contract and had failed to work according to the stipulation (agreement). The *Kotwal* put Ajbar khan and his sons and brothers into confinement in the *Kotwal* house (i.e. *Kotwal's Chabutra*). They breathed their last in the prison.[26] The *Kotwal* who was police officer in the city during the Sultanate period, also keep himself present before the Sultans on certain occasions in

catching the sight of the Sultans on certain matters of royal importance. As Fakhr-ud-din *Kotwal* offers felicitation to the Sultan on the advent of new month. Even Fakhr-ud-din *Kotwal* also suggested to Shaist Khan about the matters concerned with royal importance.[27] These details mentioned by the Sirhindi in '*Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi'* shows that during the Sultanate period the *Kotwal* played an important role in the political matters and he was very much revered for his duties by the Sultans. Even Ziauddin Barni in his work *'Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi'* also mentioned that the *Kotwal* also act as administrator of Delhi in the absence of the Sultan. He wrote that Malik-ul-Umra, the *Kotwal* of Delhi was appointed as the lieutenant at Delhi during the absence of Sultan and whole business of state and various officials were placed under his charge.[28] During the Mughal period the office of the *Kotwal* remained continued and maintained law and order with more stringent orders for the maintenance of peace and security in cities and towns.

The *Kotwal* and his duties in cities and towns:

The maintenance of internal peace, security and law and order was an important responsibility of the provincial governor. But in cities and towns, the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and other duties related to public welfare was left under the *Kotwal*.

I. **Appointment and office of *Kotwal***: The *Kotwal* was an important Mughal officer. He was appointed at the recommendation and under the *Sanad* (Seal) of *Mir Atish* (Ordnance). He was entitled to keep 50 horsemen to assist him in his duties. He gets a monthly salary of Rs. 213. During the reign of Aurangzeb the *Kotwals* were generally appointed by the Emperor, but sometimes by the *Nazim*.[29]

In effect, the word *Kotwal* was by word for a cruel oppressor even in Islamic lands outside India. In Delhi the post was usually given to *Abyssinians* or *Negroes* notorious for their stony hearts and ingenuity in inflicting torture. The theoretical qualifications for this office remained an unfulfilled ideal. He was a royal favorite because he was also the head of the official spy organization in the city.[30]

II. **Administrative duties of *Kotwal*:** As a chief administrative official of the city, the Kotwal was expected to perform the following duties in accordance with the regulation laid down under different sources.

1. As a magistrate of the city he made appointments to the office of *Kotwal* and *Kotwali Chabutra* (*Kotwal's* Jail). The *Siyaha Waqi* of Shahjahan reign mentioned that on the petition of *Kotwal* of Aurangabad, orders were issued to the effect that in place ten *Ahdis* who formerly performed the duties at *Kotwali*, others should be posted.[31] The *Kotwal* also appoints accountants on Rs. 40 for the Pan Market and the *Diwan* office and signs their pay bills which are cashed in the royal treasury of the *Subah*.[32]

2. Payment of salaries of the officials of the *Kotwali* and the requirements were also fulfilled by the *Kotwal*. The officials of *Kotwali* i.e the Jaliors known as *Bandiwan* received their pay from the *Kotwal's* office. At Ajmer 4 *annas* per day were fixed for the Jailors and two *seer* of oil for Lightning purposes were also provided to them by the *Kotwali*.[33] During the reign of Shahjahan, the *Nishan-bardars* and the Torch-bearers used to receive their salaries from the *Kotwal* and the *Naiks* who first get their Salaries from the government treasury of Aurangabad also started to get their salaries from the *Kotwal*.[34]

3. The cases were personally enquired by the *Kotwal* so that those innocent be released immediately. Aurangzeb laid down that the cases of prisoners in the *Kacheri* and the *Kotwali Chabutra* should be personally inquired into by the *Kotwal* and the *Diwan* and those innocent be released immediately. Once every month enquiry into their cases should be made and quick trial to be held. If a date was fixed for the trial, the prisoner should be sent to the *Adalat* on that date. Otherwise, he should be sent every day so as to have the case decided quickly.[35] If a man is brought to the *Kotwali Chabutra* of the *Kotwal* under arrest by the *Kotwal's* men or revenue collectors or on accusation by the private complaint, the *Kotwal* personally investigate the charge against him. If he is found innocent he released him

immediately. If anybody has a suit against him, he (*Kotwal*) tells the former to restore to a court. If there is any case of the revenues from the *Khalisa* land against him or matters coming under the articles already listed, the report was made to the *Subadar* and a *Sanad* was taken as suggested by him and was acted accordingly.[36]

4. The *Kotwal* was also responsible for the condition and daily necessities of the prisons. The supply of the ration for the prisoners and oil for lightning purposes was also the responsibility of the *Kotwal*, the administration of the *Bandi-Khanas* and *Kotwali* prisions under Aurangzeb seems to have been haphazard. Reports of *Waqia-Nigar* available in different archives point to the fact that there was no systematic arrangement for daily ration of the prisoners. At *Kotwali* prison in Ajmer, twenty persons were lodged by the *Kotwal* Ihtimad Khan. For some times, he gave a quarter *seer* of flour for each prisoner, then he discontinued the supply as it costs him one rupee daily. His assertion was that he would not supply the ration without the permission of Tahwwar Khan, the *Faujdar*. When this report was forwarded twelve days had passed without prisoners securing food. Out of hunger two of them had lost their lives and four others were on the verge of death. In 1684, at the request of *Nazim* of Ahmedabad province, Aurangzeb issued an order that for a Muslim prisoner, who had no rich relatives one *asar* wheat flour and for the burial of a deceased prisoner two sheets and five *Muradi Tankas* to given from *Baitul-mal* funds. The prisoners themselves or their relatives had to their clothing. For the indigent prisoner, clothing was supplied from *Baitul-mal* during Aurangzeb's reign.[37] For the lighting purposes, two *seers* of oil were daily provided for the prisons by the *Kotwal*.[38]

5. Collection of taxes, dues and the enforcement of regulations governing the operation of the city and town markets were also with in his charge. According to Niccolao Mannuci, "the collection of income from the town was the duty of *Kotwal*. The collection of income includes various cesses and taxes and it was presumably for the reason that his instructions included observing the spending habits and knowing the

income of everyone in the town. This was done by the appointment of a *Mir-i-Mahal* in each quarter (presumably equivalent to the *Kadkhuda* appointed by the *Kalantar* for each quarter in contemporary Iranian cities) and by nominating the heads of the local guilds".[39] The *Ain-i-Akbari* also points that the *Kotwal* should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and every guild of artificers; he should also name one as guild master and other as broker and by whose intelligence the business of sale and purchase should be conducted and from these he should also acquire frequent reports about the markets.[40]

The urban population of Mughal India was taxed uncertain, but among the taxes levied were transit duties *rahdari*, octrois, and levies on the grain, salt and occasionally on textile markets. State income was also derived from renting stalls, shops and ware houses in the bazaar.[41] During the time of Shahjahan, the *Kotwal* Abdullah reported to the *Madarul Mahana* Mahmud Beg that one and half rupee plus 3 *Tankas* to be levied per ox-load on the bundles of cloth which were brought to the government ware house and Rs. 3 plus 3 *Tankas* to be levied per ox-load when this cloth is taken out for selling.[42] The services of *Kotwal* were not free and for ensuring protection to the inhabitants of the town, he had his officials from among the local service gentry to assess and realize a protection cess from the dwellers and shopkeepers. These cesses were known as *Rusum-i-Kotwali*. In addition, he took many from offenders and criminals as fines or *Jurmana*. The other important taxes that he realized included road tolls (*rahdari*), *tarazu kashi* (a tax on stamping weights and measures) and *Chhati* (a cess per cart load). The cesses collected in the *Kotwali* constituted a separate fiscal unit in Surat and Cambay which was called *Mahal-i-Chabutra-i-Kotwali*.[43]

The realization from these cesses was by no means insignificant. In one fiscal year alone, in the early eighteenth century, the income of *Mahal Kotwali* in Cambay was more than 7000 rupees. The *Kotwal* deployed a large number of local experts for the

assessment and realization of cesses. He had his own treasurer (*Mushrif*), revenue assessor (*Amin*), revenue collector (Karoris) and cashiers and account keepers (*Tahwildars*). These petty officials recruited from the local service gentry were the bulwark of the *Kotwals* authority.[44]

The Mughal Emperors never failed to issue orders for the abolition of various duties terms as *abwabs* or illegal cesses. Various illegal cesses were regularly outlawed but were just as regularly re-imposed by *Kotwals* i.e a forbidden tax on widows, tax on leather goods etc. To prevent the *Kotwal* from levying the forbidden taxes, Aurangzeb ordered on 15th June 1695, a letter to be written to the *Faujdar*-Commandant of Karnool asking him to prevent *Kotwal* there from levying the forbidden tax of one rupee from the Widows and persons engaged in the sale of leather goods also lodged a complaint in the *adalat* that Sarbrah Khan *Kotwal's* men were charging from them illegal tax on the leather goods and they requested the Emperor for the exemption of this duty.[45]

III. Law and order duties of *Kotwal* in cities and towns:

The maintenance of peace, security and law and order was the first and foremost duty of *Kotwal* in cities and towns, as he was the city magistrate and chief benefactor of the kingdom.[46] In the maintenance of law and order, he was assisted by armed horsemen and foot soldiers carrying batons and great whips, lances, swords, targets and maces of iron like the great pestles of a mortar but all have a dagger at their sides.[47] The following duties performed by the *Kotwal* are.

1. He takes cognizance of the streets and houses of the city through his watchfulness and night patrolling. He checks the entrances and erects barriers at the entrances and secure freedom from defilement and when night is in a little advance, he prohibits people from entering and leaving the city.[48] He also keep a close watch on every one who come and go out of whatever degree he might be, whether merchant, soldier or anyone else.[49] During night patrolling, two officers accompanied him with two little drums beating and crying loudly *Khabardar* and

those who are in the neighbouring streets answer with another cry, to show that they are not asleep. After that they continue their round and begin to cry afresh until they have finished it. This round is performed thrice at night, i.e. at 9 o'clock, mid night and 3 o'clock in the morning.[50]

2. He was responsible for theft and robbery in cities and towns and it was his duty to discover the thieves and goods they have stolen or be responsible for loss.[51] According to Travernier, when a robbery was discovered, the *Kotwal* apprehended all the people of the house, young and old and subject them in turns to severe beating, if at the end of five to six days, no one conferred, they were all set free.[52] But Thevenot has mentioned that they were whipped by the *Kotwal* until he had confessed all or the thing stolen be recovered again and what is strange that *Kotwal* neither searches his house nor goods but after five or six days, he did not confess, he was released.[53]

There are also other references of theft and robbery during Aurangzeb's period that a petition was received from Khawaja Musa son of Khawaja Yaqub that thieves had broken into his house and robbed goods with everything in cash and kind and left him in a miserable condition. It was ordered to pay him out of the royal treasury a sum of Rs. 3000. The *Kotwal* was ordered to trace the lost property and restore it to the petitioner. On 12th of April 1701, Muhammad Amin, Deputy *Kotwal* was asked to produce the entire stolen property in cash and kind that had been stolen from the house of Hakim Mohammad. On 6th March 1704, Aurangzeb ordered that Sarbrah Khan *Kotwal* should investigate into the cases of thefts alleged to have occurred in to the house of Hidayatullah and pay him the amount of Rs. 10,000 stolen from his house (in cash and kind).[54]

The *Kotwal* on his duty to catch the thieves and to recover the stolen property also faced hard response from the dacoits and thieves. On March 1683, news was released in royal court that dacoit had taken place in Burhanpur. The local authorities asked the *Kotwal* to produce

the thieves or the stolen property. The *Kotwal* replied that he would try to find out the thieves or the stolen property. He succeeded in finding out the leader of the gang, Baranga Afghan, in Zainabad. The *Kotwal* wanted to catch him alive, but in fight Baranga got killed and the *Kotwal* and his three of his companions got wounded.[55]

3. The duty of *Kotwal* was also to restrain people from making, buying or selling of wine.[56] According to Mannuci, the duty of *Kotwal* was also to stop the distillation of *arrack* (spirits).[57] Jahangir also issued ordinances (*Dastur-ul-Amals*) regarding the ban on making and selling of wine or rice spirits (*darbahra*) or any kind of intoxicating drug.[58] The Mughal rulers constantly issued ordinances forbidding the use of wine and other intoxicants. From Babur to Aurangzeb, every Mughal ruler made his officers to abstain people from selling and drinking wine and other intoxicating drugs like *bhang*. During Akbar's reign, wine was allowed if recommended by doctor but strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness or gatherings and uproars. For sake of keeping everything within proper limits, Akbar established a wine shop near the palace and put the wife of porter in-charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulation and any sick persons could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. But people sometimes send fictitious names and got the supplies of wine. Due to this much mischief was done and though a large number of peoples were punished.[59]

4. The Kotwal was also responsible to produce the accused person before the court for the trail whether he is culprit or not, would be decided by the court. As during the reign of Aurangzeb a women filed a complaint in the court against the Sikandar and Alawal, the Shiqdar and the Kotwal of Wankri Pargana for the release of her grandson held by them. The court authorities ordered the Kotwal that all the accused persons would be produced before the court. But it was found that they had fled to Deogiri. It was further ordered that thorough search should be made to produce the absconding persons otherwise the persons

incharge would be held responsible and would be terminated from services. Therefore Kotwal had to remain alert every time otherwise he had to face dire consequences.[60] (See *Farman* No. 1)

Aurangzeb also took measures against wine. He ordered that all Christians except physicians and surgeons should leave the city and live beyond the suburbs at one league's distance from the city. There they were left to prepare and drink spirits (wine) but on the condition that they did not sell a wine.[61]

During Aurangzeb's reign both the *Kotwal* and *Muhtasib* (censor of public morals) tried to enforce the ordinance relating to intoxicants. Muhammad Rahim, the *Kotwal* of Jodhpur gave strict warning to the sellers of wine. To ensure the success, Aurangzeb ordered that *Mansabdars* were not to drink in their own camps and bazaars where wine was sold, were to be abolished.[62] Sometimes ordinances against the sale of spirits (wine) was so strictly enforced that when *Kotwal* suspected, he went out to search for the vendors and whenever he suspected that the spirits were made in any house, he sent his soldiers to plunder everything in it. The punishment was so strict that when *Kotwal* search at Muslims and Hindus who sold spirits, every one of culprits was to lose one hand and one foot.[63]

Inspite of these restrictions and orders, wine drinking and use of other intoxicating liquors were quite common. It was during when Aurangzeb ascended the throne, drinking of spirits was very common.[64]The *Kotwal*, who was officer responsible for the operation was also a notorious drunkard, as during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1676, a *Kotwal* Zia-uddin and Muhammad Husain were dismissed for indulging in drinking. They repented before *Qazi* and signed an apology for past conduct but the emperor did not give his approval.[65] The Christians, who were allowed to prepare spirits for their own consumption outside the city, were prohibited selling them and for this guards were kept over them to watch that they did not sell. Inspite of this, if they were found guilty of selling wine, the *Kotwal* used to plunder their house and the offender was taken through the streets chained and was dragged to the *Kotwali Chabutra* (*Kotwal's* Jail) and he was locked up in prison and only released after many months with a fine and beating.[66]

Besides these ordinances and strict measures, wine drinking was very common during Mughal period. The reason was that some Mughal emperors and most of their *Mansabdars* and other small officers remained indulged in wine drinking.

IV. Miscellaneous Duties performed by *Kotwal* in cities and towns:

1. The Kotwal in order to keep vigilance and check on various activities in cities and towns, appoints spies, watchmen and also keep persons from among the union of number of habitations for superintendence and receive daily reports under his seal of those who enter or leave and whatever events occur there.[67] He summons the watchmen and sweepers and take bonds from them that they would daily report to him the occurrences of every *mohalla* (ward of the city) without suppression or exaggeration. He also enlist a footmen (*Piada*) singly from each ward and post him there as a spy to report all the news, so that he may compare the reports from these two sources and thus know the truth and do needful in the case.[68] He also appoints a spy among the obscure residents to keep the reports in writing.[69] According to Al-Badaoni, the *Kotwal* employ in every street, lane and bazaar and at every ford of the river a person, whom he could trust and keep him informed of everything that went on whether good or bad.[70] He minutely observes the income and expenditure of various classes of men and keeps their vigilance.[71]

   On public streets of the cities, he posted careful men to act as watchmen from sunset to 9 p.m and from 9 p.m to dawn, to scrutinize the way farers and arrest those whom they considered to be thieves and evildoers and then bring them before the *Kotwal*. At places of sale and purchase and places of entertainment where spectators assemble, the *Kotwal* also keep watchmen to seize the pickpockets and the snatchers up of things and bring before the Kotwal for punishment.[72] According to J. N. Sarkar, "the duty of *Kotwal* was to do justice to the people like *Qazi"*.[73] The *Kotwal* was also a royal favourite because he was also the head of the official spy organization in the city.[74]

2. The *Kotwal* also sort out the murder cases and brought the culprits to the *Kotwali Chabutra* and referred the case to the *Qazi* for the decision. On 10th of May, 1700, Har Dev Tiwari murdered a Muslim jeweler, stole his jewels and buried his body in his house. When he sent the stolen jewels for sale, they were recognized by the son of the deceased. Har Dev Tiwari was brought to the *Kotwal's Chabutra* by the heirs of the deceased, where he confessed the murder. The body of jeweler was also unearthed from Har Dev Tiwar's house. The case was referred to *Qazi*, who handed him over to the heirs of the deceased because they refuse to release and demanded retaliation. Accordingly, the accused Tiwari was executed in front of *Chabutra Kotwali*.[75] In 1693, Muhammad Amin, *Mushrif* of the first class court, had been murdered by his brother. Aurangzeb ordered that the culprit be chastised and entrusted to the custody of *Kotwal* and on 30th March,1703, Abul Hasan, who was accused of murder was also handed over to the *Kotwal*.[76]

3. The *Kotwal* also punished and executed the prisoners of war and rebels who created disturbances and law and order situation. On 24th January 1700, Aurangzeb summoned Khwaja Maharam Khan into his presence and ordered that 14 Mavel prisoners who had been handed over to Mohammad Amin, the deputy *Kotwal* to be executed. On 22 Feb, 1703, Aurangzeb ordered 11 Maratha prisoners of war detained at *Chabutra Kotwali* to be beheaded.[77] The accused rebel Gokla Jat, the ring leader of the disturbance in the country of Tilpat, was charged of killing Abdun Nabi Khan and had plundered the *Pargana* of Sadabad was captured and by the imperial order his limbs were hacked off one after another in the *Chabutra* of the *Kotwali*.[78]

4. The offence against the safety of the state was also serious crime. As in Mughal India, the ruler was the state and offence against him was considered serious crime against the state. Regarding the Offences against the safety of the emperor, the *Kotwal* was also enforced to charge severe punishments to the culprits. On 24th Feb. 1676, while the emperor Aurangzeb was mounting his horse in the *chowk* (square)

before the hall of audience, a complainant flung a stick at him. It fell on the other side of His Majesty's umbrella and the man was arrested and made over to the *Kotwal*.[79] In the same year on Friday, 27 Oct. 1676, while Emperor Aurangzeb was returning from the Jama Masjid and had alighted from the boat in order to mount the movable chair (*Takht-i-Rawan*), an ill fated disciple of Guru Teg Singh threw two bricks, one of which reached the chair. He was seized by the retinue and was handed over to the *Kotwal*.[80] Again on 25th of Oct. 1676, a water carrier approached the Emperor Aurangzeb on the steps of Jama Masjid and showed calculated misbehavior to Aurangzeb by greeting him loudly '*Salam Alikum'*. He was taken into custody and then handed over to *Kotwal*.[81]

5. The *Kotwal* whose duty was to arrest the thief, recover the stolen property and restore the property to the rightful owner only after the proper enquiry into the case and was also held responsible to enquire the forgery charges against the officials. As in the case of Mukarram Khan, who lead an expedition against rebel *Zamindar* responsible for robberies in the locality of Nagor. Mukarram Khan chastised him and also brought the heads of robbers, whom he killed and also brought camels that had been carried away by the robbers. The Emperor Aurangzeb ordered that the camels be entrusted to Ihtimad Khan *Kotwal*, who after enquiry, was to restore them to their rightful owner.[82] Muhammad Amin, Deputy of Sarbarah Khan *Kotwal*, was ordered that as Mirak Husain the dismissed *Diwan* and *Naib* of the Prince had misappropriated large amount of imperial money, he (*Kotwal*) should confine him in the *Chabutra* and realize what the *Diwani* officers would report as due from him.[83] On the charge of forgery, Gobind Rai was imprisoned at the *Chabutra Kotwali*. But he represented to the Emperor in writing that he was innocent and should therefore be released. His release was ordered on the condition that after the proper enquiry by the *Kotwal* and also on the condition that he produce a security for his release.[84]

6. The *Kotwal* also performed a number of duties in relation to public welfare and public safety within the jurisdiction of the state, so as to overcome the law and order situation. The following are the some of the duties performed by the *Kotwal* in cities and towns are:

    a. He manage the roads that no one would lost his way and check the roads that no culprit or fugitive would be able to get out of the reach.[85]

    b. He also took possession of property of the deceased or missing persons who have no heir.[86] Jahangir regarding this matter issued an ordinance that anyone who had left property without heir should be taken into custody and expended in lawful expenditure.[87]

    c. He keeps check on merchants that no one should be able to get out of reach and no merchant should be able to take any horse or anything without any order.[88]

    d. He also establishes a separate *Serais* for unknown peoples stay and by the help of detectives keeps account of their identity.[89]

    e. He keep reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women and also check that no women be burnt as *'Sati'* against her inclination and also check that no one be circumcised under the age of twelve.[90]

    f. He checks the age before the marriage of both son and daughter of both the parties.[91]

    g. He keep check on the main routes to Delhi and check the permission letters bearing the seal of consent authority.[92]

Last but not least, the *Kotwal* performed extra ordinary duties in cities and towns for the maintenance of law and order. According to Muhammad Arif Qandhari (*Tarikh-i-Akbari*), "the emperor Akbar made severe regulations regarding the morality in the societies where both men and women perform evil practices astray from right

path and engage in notorious assemblies by making friendship with strangers. In order to put check on them and suppress these activities, *Kotwal* was authorized to take action against them by putting them on donkeys backs and then round them in the city".[93] Akbar felt free from settling the affairs of administration by making the finest arrangements for the governance of the people which setup his banners of justice in all parts of empire and also wiped out the oppression or tyranny through the office of *Kotwal* who deliver justice and save the people from oppression.[94] During the reign of Shahjahan, police system was so strict in all things and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads that there was never any necessity to execute a man for having committed theft.[95]

From the above discussion, we came to the point that the institution of law and order in cities and towns during the Mughal period worked accurately and perfectly. The duties performed by the officials like *Muhtasib* and *Kotwal* were also appreciated and justified according to the need of the time.

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Chapter-3

Institution of intelligence and information

The Mughals believed in both expansion and consolidation of their empire. The Mughal emperor Akbar therefore gave emphasis on the reorganization of administrative institutions. Abul Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari*-vol.1) has divided institutions theme wise. Consequently Mughal emperors for the functioning of the institutions and consolidation of the Mughal Empire reorganized the institutions of intelligence and information.

The institutions of intelligence and information were not new one for the Mughals. It was in a regular work during the Sultanate period. The Sultans also maintain a regular army of spies called as '*Barids'* and postal service for the regular flow of news and regular orders. Ibn Battuta has given a detailed account about the *barid* and the postal system during the Sultanate period. He has mentioned that the postal service was of two kinds. The first one was horse post and the other one was foot post. The horse post which was called *'Ulaq'*, consists of horses belonging to Sultan and was stationed at the intervals of four miles. The foot post which was called *'Dawa'* had three stations per mile. The system of dispatch of news was carried through the officials appointed who used to stay in pavilions near by the inhabited villages. These officials appointed for the postal services were always ready to move off with the news, information or any royal order. The men had a rod of two cubits long with copper bells at the top. These men or foot runners when left the pavilion took the letters in one hand and the rod with bells on the other hand and runs with all his might. The other foot runners when hear the sound of bells, waiting in the pavilion get ready to take the letter and passed on and so they continued until the letter reached the destination. This post system was faster than the horse post.

The reports dispatched by the intelligence officials to the Sultans were written with the utmost truthfulness and description regarding every event. The intelligence officials called *barid* informs Sultans about everything, for instance, who arrived in the Sultanate, his description regarding appearance and dress. The *barids* informs Sultans about every detail about the *Parganas* and towns, peoples, slaves, servants and beasts, their behavior and also the working of day today administration

throughout the Sultanate.[1] The Sultans through the working of intelligence officials called *barids*, remained vigilant about their administrative officers and administrative structure which led them to rule over long period of time up to the invasion of Mughal emperor Babur in 1526 A.D. With the establishment of Mughal Empire in India, Babur also establish an information and postal system to carry out the reports of the Empire and remained under working under his successors with certain modifications. The details regarding Mughals officials of intelligence and postal system working under *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* is discussed below under different headings.

The institution of intelligence and information under the Mughals was carried out through different agencies both at central and provincial levels. The chief agencies were:

I. Officials of Information Bureau.

1. The *Waqai Nawis*.

2. The *Swanih Nawis*.

3. The *Khufia Nawis*.

4. The *Harkaras*.

5. The Spies (*Jasus or Munihyan*).

II. The *Mewras* (runners) and Local Messengers.

III. The *Dak Chaukis* and Postal System.

I. The Officials of Information Bureau:

The Mughals appointed different officials both at central and provincial levels to send and receive information between centre and the provinces. The officials appointed for this task were as under.

1. **The *Waqai Nawis***: The institution of *Waqai nawis* was introduced during the reign of Akbar. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar had appointed fourteen *waqai nawis*, two of whom would work daily in rotation, to record in their diaries whatever the emperor said or did and whatever was brought to his notice by the heads of their departments. They also recorded the daily routine of the emperor, appointments to *mansabs*, inspection of contingents of troops, grants of rent free lands, holding of general and private assemblies, the increase and decrease of taxes, contracts, sales, money transfers, *peshkash*, the arrival and departure of courtiers, details of battles, victories and peace, the harvest of the year and much more.[2] Under Jahangir, the office of *waqai nawis* also worked very efficiently. He has mentioned in his work (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*), that the events of the *Suba* should be reported up to the boundaries by the *waqai nawis*. He further mentioned that the rules of writing down the details or *waqia* was introduced by his father (Akbar) and he observed that this institution of *waqai nawis* brought a great advantage to the Mughal empire and through this institution, regular information was acquired about the whole empire and its inhabitants and was also written down by the *waqai nawis*.[3] According to Thevenot, "the great Mughals entertained great officers and one of them was *waqai nawis*, who writes and keeps a register of all that happened within the extant of the country wherever he would be; He further also mentioned that Mughal emperor appointed him in every province to inform and give emperor a notice of everything and he never remained dependent on any minister but only to the Mughal emperor".[4] Even Michael H. fisher has mentioned in his paper, *"The office of Akhbar Nawis: the Transition from Mughal to British forms",* "that information flowed constantly from the provinces to the Mughal imperial centre. He has mentioned that Akbar

had established the original model and the *waqai nawis* was initially appointed, who was stationed with each important official or military officer of the empire, thus providing the emperor with service information independent of the official reports made by them".[5]

The details about the *waqai nawis* mentioned in the *"documents related to the Pargana Administration under Asaf Jah-I",* made a mention of *waqia nigar* that he was also an important functionary working in *Pargana* or *mahals* in the Deccan under Asaf Jah-I. His primary function was to record in his *waqai* (diary) all the facts concerning assessment and collection, cases of disputes and conflicts and conflicts among the inhabitants, proceedings and occurrences of every kind. He was required to dispatch abundant reports, together with his comments and explanatory notes to the government head quarters.[6]

Among the set of news reporters, the *waqai nawis* seem to be more numerous. The office of the provincial *Bakshi* and the *waqai nawis* were combined. According to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi (supp.),* "the chief *bakshi* and his four assistants discharge the duty of reports. Their personal rank was 500 *Zat* and 50 *Sawar*. Reporters were sometimes appointed separately, but in some *Parganas*, the *bakshi's* assistants discharge the duties and *bakshi* makes the summary of reports and encloses it with the reports for the emperor".[7] During the period of Jahangir, Muhammad Husain Jabiri was appointed *bakshi* and news writer of the *suba* of Orissa.[8] Similarly Jahangir himself also promoted Ibrahim Husain to the post of *bakshi* and Mirak Husain to that of news writer in the Deccan.[9] The posts of *bakshi* and news writer were separated, but sometimes the responsibility of writing the reports were conferred on the same person. During the Jahangir's reign, there was a disagreement that had occurred between Lashkar Khan and Khan-i-Duran. So Jahangir appointed Abid khan[10] for both the posts of *bakshi* and news writer.[11]

The primary duty of *waqia nawis* was to write the reports fully and send them weekly. During the reign of Aurangzeb, a *dastak* (permit) was issued to Mir Azizuddin for his appointment as a *Waqai Nawis* of Islam Garh on the recommendation of *Umdatul Mulk* Wazir Khan and he was instructed to perform his duty regularly and send the weekly reports to the imperial court.[12] The *Waqai Nawis* was to avoid writing complaints of the people out of enmity and recommendations for concessions. He was also to write reports in such a manner that, if investigation is made, it should be proved and confirmed, as it would add to his credit.[13] According to Satish Chandra, the *Mir Bakshi* of the Mughal Empire enjoyed all the powers of *Diwan-i-Arz,* but he was also the head of intelligence department and all the news reports sent by *waqai nawis* from different provinces were put by him before the emperor.[14]

The appointment of *waqai nawis* was made by the order of the emperor through a royal *sanad* which sometimes bore the signature of the *wazir*. Transfers of *waqai nawis* were also frequently made. The *waqai nawis* had the services of number of assistants and clerks at his disposal. They assisted him in the discharge of his duties in the *Pargana*, the *kacheri* of *Nazim*, *Diwan*, *Faujdar*, the court of judicature and the office of the *Kotwal* by writing daily reports which were submitted by him. He made a summary of their reports and transmitted them to the emperor through the superintendent of posts (*Darog-i-Dakchauki*) of the *Suba*. The assistants of the *waqai nawis* were paid 14 ½ rupees, as their salary per month. Since the beginning of the Shahjahan reign, the *waqai* were recorded according to the lunar calendar. The *waqai nawis* were appointed to the *Subas*, *Chaklas*, *Sarkars*, *Parganas*, ports, armies, forts, courts of princes, mansions of nobles and important officers and the *kachery* of the *diwan*. The *waqai nawis* also accompanied the ambassadors appointed by the Mughal emperors for the foreign lands.[15]

The *waqai nawis* was not merely a news reporter but also an official exercising some measures of administrative control and

initiative is borne out by the fact that he was enjoined to promote agriculture and trade and to enforce the prohibition of illegal cesses. The institution of *waqai nawis* seems to have served the purpose of transmitting the news to the emperor in a number of cases.[16] Michael H. Fisher has mentioned that in defining information and institutions to control it, the Mughals drew upon extant forms but reformulated them according to their own cultural and political values. He further mentioned that emperor created the model of elaborate system of court diarist i.e *waqai nawis*, or occurrence writer, to preserve accurately the official acts and the words of the emperor and the news of his reign. The model of Akbar's imperial court diary, '*Siyah-i-Huzur'* i.e account of the presence, would be thoroughly followed by *Akhbar nawis* working for regional rulers and the English East India Company until the end of the Mughal dynasty itself. The salient features of the court diary, like that of the Mughal culture was the centrality of the emperor.[17]

According to Muhammad Zameeruddin Saddiqi, "the *waqai nawis* was directed to supply information in respect of the revenue and financial matters like state of agriculture, assessment, realization and arrears of revenue, presentation of gifts and *peshkash*, accounts of the daily collection of money at the cashier's office, remittances of money to the imperial treasury, taxes and prohibited cesses, accounts of income and expenditure, schedules of market rates of gold and silver and other commodities and exchange of coins current in the Deccan. The *waqai nawis* also contained the details of the proceedings of the court in civil, criminal and revenue cases, execution of the deeds of the contract, surety and indemnity bonds, assignments of *jagirs* to the *mansabdars*, their promotions, demotions, transfers, dismissal and reinstatements, dispatch of confidential letters, a correct estimate of horses and the arms, purchases of the elephants and their description, growth of trade and industry. The *waqai nawis* also preserve the descriptive accounts of the embassies, the piracy of the *dutch* and the

danes, battle scenes, wars and victories, the eclipses, earthquakes, the falling of meteors and such other things of diversified nature".[18]

The *waqai nawis* maintained trusted agents in different parts of the *Suba* and *Parganas*, who regularly sent him reports. Sometimes, waqai nawis might send false and useless reports to the emperor. During the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, the suspension of communication and the dispatch of the reports of the waqai nawis to Bengal, Ahmadabad and the Deccan by Dara Shukoh created a rumor about the Shahajahan's failing health and aroused a suspicion and apprehensions in the minds of the princes. The cases of misrepresentation of facts and making of false reports on the part of *waqais nawis* and his entering into collusion with the *Subedar* reduced the dignity and dependency on the institution of *waqai nawis*. Aurangzeb also complained about the inefficiency of the *waqai nawis* on numerous occasions.[19]

In order to counter the false, corrupted and fictitious reports of the institution of the *waqai nawis*, institution of *swanih nawis* was established (i.e the reporter of secret service)[20] which we will discuss in the next heading.

2. **The *Swanih Nawis***: The institution of *swanih nawis (swanih nigar)* seems to have been established during the reign of Shahjahan. It was to counteract the baneful effect of the false and fictitious reports of the *waqai nawis* who sometimes ignored minimized or exaggerated facts. The *swanih nawis* was a secret agent who did not disclose his identity and reports confidentially to the emperor.[21] The *swanih nawis* were appointed for the provinces and other Parganas throughout the kingdom and was empowered to keep 20 horsemen for the additional duties of the superintendent of posts (*Darog-i-Dakchauki)*. As they were secretly engaged in provinces to submit their own reports, they had also to work as postal superintendent and therefore they send their reports openly, enclosing letters, applications of *Nazims* and the *diwans*, treasury account sheets by the postman, who carry the mail

bags from one station to the rest and were opened in the superiors presence by the *Daroga* of the posts. In the *Parganas* and subordinate courts, the *swanih nawis* (or the reporter of secret service) appoint their own agents who deliver to the *Nazims* and the revenue officials, the *farmans* and orders issued from the *khalisa* office for the confiscation of the *jagirs* of the dead or of dismissed or rebelled *jagirdars*.[22] According to J. N. Sarkar (*Mughal Administration*), "who has quoted from the work *Hidayat-ul-Qawaid* that the *swanih Nigar* was charged to send his reports of whole *Suba* eight times in a month".[23] While *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supp.) mentioned that they had to send their reports every week.[24]

The *swanih nawis,* who were also sometimes called as *khufia nawis,* were appointed to reside secretly in the *Subas* and reports about the sedition and the rebellion. It was during the period when Shivaji raised the standard of rebellion and seditious activities in different parts of Deccan, the reports reach the ears of Aurangzeb through the news reporter *Swanih Nawis*. In the reports, the *swanih nawis* mentioned the whole details about the activities of Shivaji that he had looted the big cities of Deccan, established his own posts (*Thanas*) and brought the region under his own control. The reporter further mentioned that the peoples of these regions were fed up with the ruinous, destructive and devastating activities and not a single *Zamindar* of the region possessed the courage to oppose him and therefore they tendered their submission to Shivaji and accepted his over lordship.[25] These reports were sent by the *swanih nawis* very secretly, so that action could be taken by the emperor timely. Sometimes, the reports of the *swanih nawis* were also founded corrupt and insufficient and due to the long period of the institution, there were seen some faults in the reports of *swanih nawis*.[26] Without uprooting the working of the institution of *swanih nawis*, another secret reporter was also established side by side to provide secret reports to the emperor about the respective areas where they were employed and this secret news reporter was called as *Khufis Nawis*.

3. **The *Khufia Nawis***: The office of *Khufia Nawis* was not different from *swanih nawis or swanih nigar*, who was also a secret reporter, but it was just a change of nomenclature during the reign of Aurangzeb. The term *swanih nawis* had become obsolete and also had been exposed before the public as secret reporter. So, it became necessary for Aurangzeb to change its nomenclature. The institution of *khufia nawis* was well established by Aurangzeb and was regarded as most confidential agent. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has quoted '*Alamgir-nama'* that *khufia nawis* reported secretly on events without any communication with the local authorities, who often did not know about him or his name. The *khufia nawis* performed his duties out of the contact with the people and peopled remained mortal dread of these secret intelligencers and their office. He was also maintained in some of the feudatory states to keep emperor informed about feudatory rulers.[27] J. N. Sarkar has categorized *khufia nawis* as another news reporter. But he also mentioned that *swanih nawis* was also called as *khufia nawis*, who were appointed to reside secretly in the *Subas* and report news.[28] The purpose of both *swanih nawis* and *khufia nawis* was same but the term *khufia nawis* was continuously being used from the reign of Aurangzeb as secret reporter. Nicollao Manucci has continuously mentioned in his work about the *khufia nawis* as the secret reporter of the empire.[29] He was under the obligations to send words to the court of all that had happened in their respective areas. Manucci also mentioned that Aurangzeb sent *khufia nawis* with the embassies. He had sent Tarbiat khan, an *Uzbek* as a secret reporter with the ambassador to the court of Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, to report the whole matter about him.[30]

The reports of *khufia nawis* were presented before the emperor directly and these news reports were commonly read in the emperor's presence by the women of the *mahal* (palace) at about nine o' clock in the evening, so that he would know what is going or happening in the whole empire.[31] During the time of Aurangzeb, the office of secret reporters sometimes became suspicious of not providing a clear picture

of the happenings. Even the secret reporters were sometimes bribed by the *Pargana* or *Suba* officials to control the secret information, so that it would not reached the emperor. Manucci has mentioned that during the reign of Aurangzeb, the *faujdars* and other Mughal officers committed excessive acts of oppression upon the common people especially by the young officers. These officials in their eagerness to become rich plundered the common people and did unlawful acts. Due to the action of these officials, it became pertinent for the official reporters to sent secret reports and information to the emperors. But these tyrant and cunning officials bribed the officials and secret reporters for not writing and sending any news to the emperor.[32] Due to these acts, the office of *khufia Nawis* or secret reporters became less effective up to the end of Mughal period. The office of the secret reporters did not declined but remained working and sending information besides the *Harkaras,* who were also underground secret reporters of Mughals posted in provinces side by side to the *khufia nawis* for reporting the information to the emperor directly.

4. ***Harkaras***: The *Harkaras* were also called as secret class of reporters literally meaning courier of news or called as men of all work. These *harkaras* were appointed throughout the empire from the office of chief superintendent of the *harkaras* called as *'Darog-i-Harkara-i-Kul'*.[33] They were regarded as the messengers of confidential messages both verbal and written.[34] *Harkaras* as the reporters of the secret service were stationed at the court of *Nazim* and acquired information through their agents and report to the *Nazim*. The *harkaras* also prepared a list of papers and sent it with mail bag to the emperor.[35] The *harkaras* submit their reports normally once in a week. His reports were considered most trustworthy of all the news reporters. He was asked to write the truth and not the rumors and also to keep in his mind that he should not write false reports, which would lead to the disgrace of the nobles and other officials. If the information of *harkaras* were not proved they had to lose their life.[36] This kind of punishment was meant for *harkaras* because the stability of the empire was also

dependent on his information of the provinces. The *harkaras* never take such a risk of life and that is why we have find out in the sources that *harkaras* were most reliable informer directly linked to the Mughal emperors. Their honesty and duties were also appreciated by the Mughals and for their services they also got promotions.[37] Even the *harkaras* brought news himself to the emperor about the critical or any rebellious persons, the *harkaras* were rewarded personally by the emperor. When the news of the wretched Sambha was communicated to the Aurangzeb through the petition (*Arz-Dasht*) of the prince Muhammad Azam Shah, the next day, Khandoji, the *harkara* of the Ikhlas Khan presenting himself before the emperor, also submitted a detailed account of the whole incident. Therefore the person who had brought the petition (*arz-dasht* of Prince Azam) and Khandoji *Harkara* (of Ikhlas Khan) were given rewards beyond their expectations.[38] This statement here made us clear that news were brought to the emperor through different sources or secret reporters, so that action could be taken timely.

The *harkaras* remained every time alert and ready to dispatch news and information about the condition. As during the conquest of the fort of Bijapur, the *harkaras* submitted to the emperor every detail about the situation.[39] The *harkaras* also brought regular information about the rebels from every part of the empire. The *Daraoga-i-Harkara*, Muhammad Ali, reported to the Hayat Khan, the *Daroga-i-Ghusal Khana*, that he had sent *harakaras* in the territory of the rebel Sambha to bring news from different corners. He further reported that the *harkaras* had seen the men of Alam Bhadur in the land of rebel Sambha. It was also heard from the news that the rebels had been instigated by the prince to create trouble and disturbance by sending his own troops and he entered into conflict with the imperial army.[40] The regular news brought by *harkaras* was taken into confidence immediately, so that action could be taken against the rebels. Sometimes *harkaras* were sent to bring news about the rebel groups, their plans and the areas where they were grouped. As during the reign

of Aurangzeb, the suppression of Durgadas[41] and other Rathors was the highest concern of the emperor. There Aurangzeb issued orders to the chief *Daroga* i.e *Daroga-i-Harkara* to send *harkaras* as spies to bring the news of the where about of the rebellious group and it was reported by the *harkaras* to the emperor that the Rathors had gathered in the pass adjacent to the *mauza* (village) Daulai, which was situated in the territory of Rana Raj Singh, close to the *ghati* (pass) of Deve Suri.[42] Such information was very much important for the Mughal emperors to crush the activities of rebels before their onslaught on the imperial forces or they might get the upper hand.

The reports made by all these groups of officials i.e *waqai nawis, swanih nawis, khufia nawis* and the *harkaras* were sent to *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki*, who submitted them to the *wazir* for presentation to the emperor.[43] These officials were collectively called *Akhbar Nawis*,[44] which were employed for transmitting news of all sorts of occurrences within the empire. According to Michael H. Fisher, "the etymology of *Akhbar Nawis* indicates some meaning lying behind its first use in the Mughal Empire. The term '*Akhbar'* has its Arabic root '*Khabar'*, i.e to know. He has further made a classification that the term *khabar*, as taken from Arabic into Persian and then Urdu in India came to denote variously i.e news, information, advices, intelligence, notification, announcement, report, rumors, fame, story, account. *Akhbar* (the Arabic broken plural form of *khabar*, taken as a singular or plural noun into Persian and Urdu came to mean histories, tales, annals, gazettes, news, relations, advices, chronicles, traditions, a newspaper. Michael H. Fisher further argued that the dozens of scholarly Arabic, Persian and Urdu histories of individuals, dynasties, politics or even the world, have used *akhbar* in the title to describe their approach. He mentioned that the other part of the title, i.e '*nawis'* or '*nigar'* means writer. Thus *Akhbar Nawis* means a writer or reporter of the news and information".[45]

There is also a reference given by Michael H. Fisher regarding the court *Akhbarat* from the Akbar's period onwards. He has

mentioned two types of *akhbar nawis*, one who recorded the formal acts of the ruler and court and the other type of *akhbar nawis* reported uncensored whatever information they felt would be interesting to their masters. In the reports of the former, there was no explicit intrusion of the voice of the *akhbar nawis* in the account. Because many of the functions or ceremonies of the court were repeated virtually every day and the *akhbarat* tended to be very repetitive and prescribed, while the reports of the later provide important and diverse prospective on the imperial court. The *akhbar nawis* seemed to have worked exclusively for a single imperial official. Sometimes they were employed by a merchant or a large land holder, who wished to learn about events at court. Some of the *akhbar nawis* sold their written records to the scribers while others circulated them among the Mughal officers and soldiers.[46]

5. The Spies (*Jasus or Munihyan*):

The Jasus (spies) were also intelligence officials, who reported confidentially. Besides, the above three mentioned officers or secret reporters, the *Jasus* or *Munihyan* were regarded as underground news reporters. As we have already mentioned in this chapter about *barids* as spies during sultanate period, there were also another reporter called as '*munhis'* (literally a person who informs concerning things forbidden) during Allauddin Khilji's reign.[47] Allauddin remained well informed about the state through this intelligence system. Therefore the *munhiyan* of the Mughal period had its beginning from the sultanate period onwards and it was not new one for the Mughals.

According to Nicollao Manucci, "the policy of the Mughals was so fine and so delicate as to surpass that of all their predecessor and they had peculiarly worked hard to maintain himself on the throne up to the time against the wish and will of several persons".[48] In order to keep check on the day to day working of the administration, they kept spies regularly to report about the officers of the administration and the princes posted as governors in the provinces. Therefore the

best means that the Mughal emperors possessed for the good regulation of their empire was through the trusty spies. These spies reported what was going in the realm and chiefly amongst the officials. Nicollao Manucci has mentioned that Mughal Empire was behind none other in having a kind of person from whom they learnt all that happened throughout the empire. He further mentioned that during the reign of Aurangzeb, a trusty spies were appointed to report the activities of the officials. He mentioned that Aurangzeb had such good spies that they even know men's very thoughts. Everything that happened in the empire had not been left by spies without being informed. This statement shows that the spies were very trustful and vigilant in their duties.[49]

The Mughal emperors were also informed by the spies about the movement of the imperial armies and rebellious activities. During the reign of Aurangzeb, petitions were sent by the *munihyan* that Zulfiqar Khan was in a trouble at the siege of Jiuji Fort. In this situation, Aurangzeb ordered to write a *farman* to Jandetul to provide every help to Zulfikar Khan.[50] Under these critical circumstances, information was regularly dispatched to the Mughal emperors, so as to overcome the situation immediately. During the time of Babur, spies were regularly employed to bring news of the opponents. Babur has mentioned in his work "*Tuzuk-i-Baburi",* that Nizamud-din Sultan Muhammad *Bakshi* after posting the *Gazis* of Islam, dispatched *Tawachi* (adjutants) and *Yasawals* (messengers) in various directions to convey imperative orders concerning the marshalling of troops to the great *Sultans* and *Amirs*.[51] News was also brought by sending *Qazaq Yigiltar* (scouting braves) ahead to get news of the opponents. The spies were also sent in large numbers in order to get news from every side. As Babur during the march of Kannauj, news were brought by the messengers that on seeing the large number of spies the rebels fled away, so that they could not be traced.[52] Babur remained vigilant through the news informers and spies, who informed him regularly. Babur had mentioned about the Hindustani *piyada* (footman), who

brought reports regularly to him from Kabul and Khurasan and also about their sons who were far away from him.[53]

Even during the period of Shershah, news was brought by the spies very quickly. Shershah for the enforcement of regulations which he had published for the protection of the people sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles and acquire details secretly of every circumstance related to the nobles, their soldiers and the people. These spies informed the Shershah about the disorder and deficiency, which he would found its way into the court of justice and would be corrected.[54] It was through the underground espionage system and the regular reports of the provincial news writers that reached the court by the *'Dak-Chauki'*, Shershah kept his fingers on the pulse of Bengal, wherever he happened to be.[55]

Akbar was very much concerned about the information and intelligence of his whole empire. He established the institution of news writers in every province, in which a person of intelligence and obedient would be employed. He further mentioned that if a person like honest, provident and truthful are not obtained, he ordered that in every affair spies were to be employed who would be unknown to each other and received their reports to ascertain the truth.[56] About the intelligence and espionage, S. M. Jaffar in his work (*Some Cultural aspects of Muslim rule in India*) has mentioned that, "espionage has no doubt a bad odor about it, but it has been found indispensible especially in despotic governments". He has further mentioned that, "the rulers maintained a regular army of spies who kept informed of all the events that took place throughout the empire. In order that no secret might leaked out, there exist a close connection between the postal system and the secret service".[57]

II. *Mewras* (runners) and Local Messengers:

The *mewras* (runners) were another class of reporters who travel by a foot over a long distance to dispatch the news. The *mewras* were native of Mewat and are famous as good runners. They bring from great distances anything with zeal that may

be required. They are also regarded as excellent spies and perform most intricate duties.[58] According to Arif Kandhari (*Tarikh-i-Akbari*), "Akbar was very much expert in espionage and establish an institution of foot runners called as *mewras*. These *mewras* were regarded as good runners. They were employed by the Mughal emperors regularly day and night and reports every day from all sides of the world".[59] According to father Monserrate, "the foot runners (*mewras*) run so fast on foot as far as horse man ride at a full speed. He has mentioned that they have removed their livers in their infancy, in order to prevent their sufferings from shortness of breath". But it was just a phrase to show the *mewras* ability and swiftness in dispatching royal orders and news. Father monserrate further mentioned that, "in order to become a good runner, they practice running in shoes made of lead and continuously train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs till their heels touch the buttocks, while standing at one place. When their lead shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners and by the help of their swiftness, the Mughal emperors rapidly and regularly obtain news or several orders on any matter".[60] Francisco Pelsaret has also mentioned about the runners tha,t " the letters and *farmans* of the Mughal emperors and princes were transmitted with incredible speed and they are posted in the village four or five *Kos* apart, taking out their turn of duty throughout day and night. When these runners received the letters, they immediately run with it to the next village in a breath and handover it to another runner, So that the letter goes steadily on and travelled 80 *Kos* between night and day".[61] But Arif Qandhari has mentioned that, " the runners (*mewras*) cover a distance up to 150 *Karoh* (*Kos*) in a day and night. He has also mentioned that from the capital of Gujarat to the imperial capital of Agra, they reached in five days and from Tanda,[62] the head quarters of the province of Bengal, two *mewras* of the *chauki* run a distance of 100 *Kos* in a day and night".[63] The *Mewras* were employed throughout the Mughal Empire and '*Ain-i-Akbari'* has mentioned that, " there were one thousand *mewras* under Mughals".[64] But Arif Qandhari has given an estimate of four thousand *mewras* as foot runners employed by the Akbar.[65]

The institution of foot posts and runners (*mewras*) was regarded as remarkable one in carrying out the royal news, *farmans* or letters. The *mewras* were always prepared in the *Dak-chaukis* to receive letters for dispatch. As at the end of every six miles throughout the route, there was a little hut (*Dak-chauki*) and these *mewras* were

always ready there. When a runner reached the *Dak-chauki,* he threw the letters on the ground as it was a bad sign to give them into the messenger's hand. The next appointed runner picked them up and carried them to the next stage and in this way letters and news were sent over the different parts of the Mughal Empire. The highways during Mughal period were mostly covered by trees on both sides to show the right way and provide shade to the travellers. In the absence of trees, a heap of stones were setup at every five hundred paces and the head or the people of the nearest village were held responsible to kept the heaps white washed, so that when the nights were dark and strong, the post runners might not lost their ways.[66]

The *mewras* or runners carried letters to distant places with utmost safety. The security or secret letters were sent either from emperor or to the emperor was enclosed in a hollow bamboo about a foot long, at one end of which was a cap, two inches long. After a letter had been place inside, the tube was capped and sealed. A letter could not be removed from the tube without breaking the seal. This precaution protected the letter from rain or dust and from being soiled by the hands through which it passed. Even if the journey were long, the letter remained safe and secure inside the bamboo tube until it reached the destination or it was properly received.[67] If the reports or letters were to be sent immediately or to be reached urgently through the *mewras* (runners), they were sent on horseback by relays.[68] There were some runners who took opium regularly to counterfeit fatigue. This habit was only to increase their stamina to run day and night without any delay.[69] The *mewras* (runners) were also appointed for *chaukis*. The total *mewras* employed along the Agra-Ahmedabad route was 164 and of these 77 were stationed at the *chaukis*. This means that half of the *mewras* had to remain on duty round the clock and most probably the remaining half always stood in reserve.[70] The runners were expected to cover a certain distance every day. They were enjoined to go one *Kos* (two miles) per *ghari*.[71] At every station the *faujdars*, *thanadars* and *Zamindars* kept scouts ready to escort the runners without delay as soon as they arrived. The days fixed to dispatch of letters or news were fixed as twelve days. But in urgent cases, only one week was allowed for the whole journey. If there was any delay in the dispatch of letters or news, the runners were punished by deducting one-fourth of their wages.[72] Runners (*mewras*) were paid regularly every month, so that there would not be delay in news and royal orders. There were sixty-two runners employed between Ahmadabad to

Khandabpurani[73] and all of them received Rs. 250 per month. It means that approx. Rs. 4 was the salary of each runner per month. They had to receive their salaries from the royal treasury, after scrutinizing their attendance by the *Diwan* of the province. Out of 62 runners, two were diary writers, two were heralds waiting on the *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* and rest of the runners were reserved for the other *chaukis* between the Ahmadabad and Khandabpurani, after which the runners of the province of Ajmer carry on the service of news and royal letters.[74]

The expenditure on the *mewras* was borne by those in whose jurisdiction the *chaukis* lay. The *mewras* appointed at the imperial *Dak-chaukis* located in the territory of the Rathore rulers were on the regular roll of the state establishment of Jodhpur. The monthly salary of the *mewras* was about Rs. 3 which was lower than that given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In addition to that, state used to pay other expenses to the *mewras*. The *mewras* of Jalore and Bharwani were given eleven and four dams respectively as daily expenses.[75] During the reign of Aurangzeb, the salaries of *mewras* were not delayed in order to maintain mail service. A copy of *Dastak* (order) issued to Sital Singh, the treasurer of imperial army was ordered to pay the monthly salary to Nagoji and other *mewras* Rs. 4 per month of *Dak-chaukis* of Bijapur to Poona, for maintaining the mail service between these two cities.[76]

Besides *mewras*, there were also other messengers who were also regarded as good runners and informer of the news. Mughals also used mounted messengers to carry the news and royal orders. Through these mounted messengers, nobles and other royal officials were entitled to send letters, petitions and messages on urgent matters to the emperors. According to Arif Qandhari, “on the main roads, Akbar stationed two speedy horsemen at every five *Kos* to keep watch and when messenger who carried an imperial *farman* or order, bearing royal seal is carried by the horsemen”.[77] To proclaim a victory and to send urgent news to the different parts of Mughal Empire and abroad, special mounted messengers were used. Some of them may have been the emperor’s personal and confidential employs and were not attached to *the Dak-chaukis.* Sometimes when there were political disturbances, the messengers sometimes encountered great difficulties. They were often detained and prevented from delivering news and letters to their destinations. At such times their loyalty and shrewdness were put to test. The messengers sometimes finding insecurity on the

roads and highways, they often travelled in groups. But this not always ensure their safety.[78]

Other types of messengers were also known as *Qarawal*,[79] *Yasawal*[80] and *Jiladaur*.[81] Usually they were mounted messengers and also sometimes perform other primary responsibilities like scouts, huntsmen, stewards and grooms. The *Qasids* and *Ilchis* were also messengers. *Ilchis* were selected from the emperors close associates, who usually acted as his messengers or envoys to another country or court[82] where as *qasids* were generally referred to as messengers, who were usually send to brought news from enemy's army or country. Jahangir mentioned in his work that when Abdullah Khan passed the *ghats* and entered the enemy's country, he did not realize to send *Qasidan* (runners) to bring intelligence from the other army.[83] During the Mughal period there were also private messengers hired by the traders and merchants both local and foreigners. As with the expansion of trade and commerce, the demand for messengers increased. This demand gave employment to large number of messengers who were called *bazaar-qasid* (market couriers), *Pattamar* or fast runner. They were private messengers and were not employed by the imperial authority. Foreign factors, travellers, and traders regularly used the hired messengers to investigate and report on commercial conditions. In 1613, Nicholas Withington, an English traveller and an employ of the East India Company hired a *pattamar* and sent him to Lahri Bandar in Sind to investigate and reports its commercial conditions. The *Pattamar* were not only a fast runner but also a good spy.[84]

The private messengers, though efficient and fast had their limitations. The reliability and speed varied from messenger to messenger. But when an employer needed to sent an urgent message or letter, he assured the messenger of additional charges for delivering as speedily as possible.[85]

III. ***Dak-Chaukis* and Postal System**:

The Mughals in order to maintain extensive authority over the whole empire establish an elaborate and efficient communication network. For the regular transmission of news and royal orders, Mughals establish *Dak-chaukis* and postal organization in every province. The *Dak-chaukis* or postal stations were controlled by the officials appointed by the imperial authority. By these officials, regular news and official papers were received and transmitted without any delay.[86] The *Dak-Chaukis*

were an imperial monopoly and on occasions, nobles and princes used its services.[87] As the empire expanded, large numbers of *Dak-Chaukis* were constructed. The marked expansion started to increase under Jahangir and continued under Shahjahan, who ordered Aurangzeb, the then governor of Deccan, to build new *Dak-chaukis* between Hyderabad and the Karnataka. There were also other *Dak-Chaukis* established between Hyderabad and Burhanpur and were placed in the charge of *Zaminadars* and other officials.[88]

The reports, news or royal orders whether political, financial or any other provincial matter were sent through *Dak-chaukis*. It was the duty of the *Wazir* to sent reports of provincial matters every month through the *Dak-Chaukis*. The *Diwans* of the province were also advised to send the reports of the *Suba* with an account of the treasury, twice each month through the *Dak-Chaukis*.[89] The establishment of *Dak-chaukis* was not important politically and militarily but commercially as well. These *Dak-Chaukis* and posts were established almost at fixed distance, along the routes connecting important towns and cities. The routes were marked by *Sarais,* wells and avenue of trees.[90] Sometimes *Sarais* were also used as *Dak-chaukis* for transmission of news. Shershah Sur built 1700 *Sarais* on various roads and in every *Sarai*, he kept two horsemen ready to carry news quickly.[91] Satish Chandra has also made a reference in his work that *Sarais* were also used for *Dak-chaukis* (postal service) for which two horses were kept at every *Sarai*. By this, it means that by relay of horses news from a distance of 300 *Kos* could reach in a day.[92] Babur who established Mughal Empire in India was very much conscious about the regular flow of news and postal service. So, he ordered that road between Agra and Kabul to be measured. At every 9th *Kuroh,* a tower was erected, 12 *qaris* high and at every 18th *kuroh*, 6 post horses were kept fastened and arrangements were made for the payment of the postmasters, grooms and horse corn. If posts were near the crown land, the cost would be charged on the incharge of the *Pargana*.[93]

Aurangzeb was very much conscious about the news and postal system and took special interest in the construction of *Dak-chaukis* throughout the empire. As already discussed that *Dak-chaukis* were the state monopoly, but sometimes it was used secretly by the princes also. Serious difficulties arose when their control was successfully challenged. During the war of succession (1656-1660) which brought the reign of Shahjahan to an end, Prince Dara’s zeal in suppressing the news from the

capital created the problems. There was a complete breakdown of the postal system which added to the confusion by the civil war. Aurangzeb and Murad also won over many messengers with bribes and promises of advancement.[94] Accurate intelligence and the rapid dispatch news also played an important role in securing the throne for Aurangzeb. During the war of succession, Aurangzeb kept himself informed of his brothers every movement and the intelligence of the imperial army. It was not a new phenomena, even Shahjahan also rebelled against his father Jahangir and tried to disrupt the imperial posts and orders passing through the *Dak-Chaukis*. Even in Bengal, he appointed a person as a censor to keep a check on all the letters entering and leaving the province.[95] There were not only rebellions by princes but some governors, who took advantage of long distance from the capital. They not only interfere in the imperial postal system but also keep a check on the news reporters. In Bengal, Islam Khan, the governor of the province maintained his own *Dak-Chauki*, employ spies on the news writers, harassed them and made difficult for them to send accurate news to the court. In these cases, the imperial news reporters resorted to all types of tricks to smuggle reports out of the province.[96]

Mughals built postal stations (*dak-chaukis*) in every province and connected them with each other. When Mughal emperor Aurangzeb marched towards the Deccan, postal arrangements were made for the transmission of the news from Ahmadabad to Baroch and thence to port Surat under the control of *Daroga-i-Dak-Chauki*. About 25 men were appointed on 180-4 per month. Among these, two were heralds and one diary writer and others were allotted the following postal stations like Batwa, Barejari, Kanij, Town of Muhamadabad, Andhuj Salud, Town of Nadiad, Boriavi, Hadgud, Basad, Ranoli, Town of Baroda, Dhaniavi, Choranda, Karmali and Baroch.[97] There is another list of *dak-chaukis* given by *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* between Ahmadabad and Khandabpurani. In these *Dak-chaukis* sixty two runners were employed between these two stations. These *Dak-chaukis* or postal stations are, Kali, Adalaj, Pansar, Jornang, Mehsana, Bhandu, Unjha, Siddhpur, Bislaw, Halodi, Town of Palampur, Bhutari, Dantiwara, Khansowarai Pantiwara, Bant, Bhadkanam, Dongri, Kudi, Bhilmal Sunt, Turna Mudra, Jalur, Debadas, Bhurani and Khandab. These *chaukis* were organized and supervised under the Mughal administration as the officials received their salaries from the royal treasury.[98]

Table showing monthly salary of Nagoji and others of *Daroga-i-dakchaukis* (the relay stations) of Bijapur and Aurangabad, who were the servants of the *Khasa-i- Sharifa.*

Monthly Salary of *Daroga-i-dakchauki* and other officials stationed between Bijapur and Aurangabad.				
S.No.	**Official Name**	**Father's Name**	**Income**	
			Rupees	**Annas**
1	Masaar Ali	Hajuji	4	14
2	Tahan	Syed Rajo	3	14
3	Abdullah	Mohd khan	3	14
4	Mahb	Darya	3	14
5	Abdullah	?	3	14
6	Habib	Syed Khan	3	14
7	?	Nabaji	3	14
8	Sheikh Mulk	Mohd Husain	3	14
9	Manohar	Govind	3	14
10	?	Bikaji	3	14
11	Gopal	Ujagir	3	14
12	Sheikh Maula	Jamal	3	14
13	Sultan	Dalohi	3	14
14	Mir Manan	Sayes	3	14
15	Fateh Mohd.	Taj	3	14
16	Baharji	Sambhaji	3	14
17	Jan Mohd.	?	3	14
18	Harji	Omaji	3	14
19	Ragohji	Malni	3	14
20	Jagan Nath	Maloji	3	14

Farman of Aurangzeb's Reign regarding the *Qabzul Wasil* (Pay Bill) of the four month's salary paid to Nagoji and other servants.

Source: *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign 1659-1706 A. D,* ed. by Yusuf Husain Khan, Farman No. 42, P. 55-56.

The *chaukis* on the Agra-Ahmadabad route were also organized by the Mughal administration. There were seventy seven *chaukis* in all and the total distance between the two ends was estimated at 328 *Kos* (about 870 miles). In 1646-47, the *Dak-chaukis* were under the supervision of one Isap Khan, who was *Daroga-i-Dak-chauki* and Sayid Kabir was appointed as '*Mirdha'* or Head runner. At each *Dak-chauki*, two or three persons were stationed. The *mewras* employed along the route were 164 and out of these 77 were stationed at the *chaukis* on duty round the clock and remaining half were always stood in reserve. The minimum distance between any two *chaukis* was 3 *Kos* and maximum 7 *Kos* and six *Kos* was the distance between eight *chaukis*. The majority of the *chaukis* were located at a distance of 4 and 5 Kos. The average spacing of the *chaukis* comes to be about 4.25 Kos (10 miles).[99]

Aurangzeb was very much conscious regarding the postal system. In order to tighten the control over all postal system, he appointed *Darog-i-Dak-chauki* with full confidence and power, under whose direction the postal system was fully examined and revived regularly. Aurangzeb's close contact with the officials of the postal department did much to secure his control and efficiency over the postal system.[100] The Mughal administration was also vigilant about the safety and protection along the imperial roads and highways. For the security of highways, Mughals maintained a regular check on the highways in order to remove the obstruction to the travellers and news reporters. Even the highways passing through the non-Mughal areas were also protected by the autonomous chiefs and tributary Zamindars which we will discuss in the next chapters. B.L. Bhadani has given a reference from the *Parwana* of Maharaja Jaswant Singh addressed to Nainsi, then the *Diwan* of the state, clearly mentioned that " *the Chaukis along the imperial highways (Patshahi Marg) should be protected*". He also made a reference in his work that Nainsi himself records some examples that the responsibility to provide protection along the imperial highway rested on the shoulders of the Rathore rulers and sometimes quite harsh in maintaining in law and order along the imperial highway passing through their territory. Once, goods dispatched for the emperor were robbed near Sojhat by certain persons. When the culprits were identified, they were beheaded by the Maharaja Jaswant Singh's men.[101] The tributary chiefs remained faithful to the Mughals and provided every possible support to the Mughals in their own respective areas.

Aurangzeb from his earlier experience from the war of succession, he remained vigilant and tightened the control over postal system. He did not want his previous methods turned against him. He did not permit any royal princes to use the *Dak-chaukis* without his permission. When he heard that his son Muhammad Azam had appointed his own mail runners in the *Dak-chaukis* on the royal road without his permission, he immediately wrote to the Asad Khan, his Prime minister to stop this practice as *Dak-chaukis* were his sole prerogative.[102] There is also a mention of a letter of Azizi that Muhammad Muazzam had asked his own peoples i.e reporters to sit on the highways just like *Dak-chaukis.* Aurangzeb resented it very much and said that if he wanted to intercept the *waqia* reports, he would never get any. Aurangzeb further made a remark to Muazzam that, *"the crow never gives the snake in his beak".*[103] This phrase made it clear that the reporters or runners of the *Dak-chaukis* were so clever and dedicated to their work that they would never disclose the news or royal orders. The officers of the *Dak-chaukis* or postal system were in collaboration with the imperial secret service during Aurangzeb's reign. This cooperation was not entirely a new development as all his predecessors had been dependent heavily on secret reporters and spies but under Aurangzeb the postal and secret service department remained amalgamated and worked together with the *Daroga-i-dak-chauki.*[104]

The Mughals also used carrier pigeons as the letter carrier. Jahangir in his work '*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri'*, mentioned that he ordered to the fanciers to teach the carrier pigeons (*Kabutar-i-nama-bar*) and they taught some of them in such a manner that when they fly from Mandu in early morning and if there was much rain, they reached the Burhanpur by 2 ½ *pahars* (watches) of the day or even 1 ½ *pahars*. If the sky would be clear, most of them would arrive by one *pahar* of the day and some by four *gharis* (hours) of the day.[105] Similarly Francisco Pelsaret has also mentioned about the carrier pigeons that Jahangir had also kept some pigeons to carry news in the time of great urgency or in any case of sieges. But actually, these carrier pigeons were used for shorter distances.[106] According to Manucci, "the court nobles used pigeons to carry messages and intelligence. Sometimes these pigeons were also used to signal the emperor's movements. The pigeons were not used permanently but on certain occasions only"[107].

The officers responsible for the maintenance of the institution of intelligence and information through *dak-chaukis* worked out accurately and perfectly throughout the Mughal period. Besides these responsible officers, Mughals also made *Jagirdars* and officials of *Khalisa* responsible for the regular information about the working of day to day administration. As officers in the Mughals administration maintain law and order in their respective areas, it was also their responsibility to remained in touch with the Mughal emperors through their own *waqia* reports regularly dispatched to the capital. '*Akbarnama'* also made a reference about the officers of the *Khalis* and *Jagirdars* that, " they should provide correct reports about the well conducted and ill-conducted, about the obedient and disobedient in their respective areas, so that recompose and retribution may be bestowed and the thread of the government would be strengthened".[108] The *Faujdars* whose duty was to maintain law and order establish peace and security in their areas were also advised to keep cordial relations with the *Waqai Nigar, Swanih Nigar* and *Harkaras,* as their reports would lead to their promotions.[109]

Mughal description of intelligence and information system led to the introduction of the institutions such as the *waqia nawis, swanih nawis, khufia nawis, harkaras, jasus* or *munhiyans, mewras,* local messengers and institution of *Dak Chaukis* in various parts of Mughal empire. Though the Mughal emperors were the creator of these institutions, the officials of intelligence and information departments became the source of Mughal emperor's knowledge of existing situation in the empire.

The functioning of the officials of these departments were evaluated by the officers like *Sipah Salar, Faujdar, Mir A'dl* and *Qazi, Kotwal, Amal-guzar* (collector of revenue), and the *Bitikchi* (accountant). Consequently these official's performances were the basis of their promotion and Mughal emperor's symbols of authority.

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71 1 *Kos* = 200 *Jaribs*, 1 *Jarib* = 25 yards, 1 yard = 42 inches, 5000 *Shahjahani* yards = 200 *jaribs*.

72 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supp.), P. 151.

73 Khandabpurani was on the frontier of Ajmer province.

74 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (supp.) Op. Cit. P. 151.

75 B. L. Bhadani, Op. Cit. P. 331.

76 *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign (1659-1706),* Op. Cit. PP. 50-51.

77 *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit. P. 63.

78 A.K.M Farooqui, Op. Cit. PP. 136-137.

79 *Qarawa*: A sentinel, a watchman, spy, guard. These belong to branch of army. During the war they were sent ahead as spies.

80 *Yasawal*: A horseman and a state messenger.

81 *Jiladaur*: A messenger or carrier of letters.

82 Ibid; PP. 139-140.

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Chapter-4

Security at Pargana and Village level

Introduction: It is well established fact that the Mughals divide the empire into *Subas* and head of each *Suba* was appointed by the Mughal Emperor. The head of the each *Suba* i.e the governors were first called *Sipahsalars*, but towards the end of the Akbar's reign they were called *Hakims* and afterwards *Sahib Suba* or *Subadars*,[1] and his title also signifies that his main duty was the defence of the area and maintenance of peace and order in the provinces.[2]

Akbar was the first Mughal emperor, who divides the empire into *Subas* forming twelve such *Subas*. There were twenty two such *Subas* or provinces in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shahjahan and later-including such distant place as Kandhar, Kabul, Kashmir, Balakh and Badakhsan, where the Mughal authority must have been extremely obscure.[3] Each *Suba* governed by a *Subadar* or governor was appointed from Delhi, if not actually stationed in the provinces; a *Naib Subahdar* or deputy governor was sent. The *subadar* had a *Diwan*, who was defacto chief revenue and administrative authority. The *suba* was divided into *Sarkars* or districts, each with a *Faujdar Gard*, who was a police official responsible for law and order. The *Sarkar* was further divided into *Parganas*, each under a *Faujdar*. Certain areas had their own special arrangement, as port of Surat was governed by a *Mutasaddi*, directly under the *Subadar*.[4] In the period of Shershah, (the second Afghan empire), there were 113000 *Parganas*, for which he appointed a *Shiqdar*, a *Munsif*, a *Khazanadar* (treasurer), a *Munsif-i-Khazana*, and both Persian and *Hindvi* writers. In every *Sarkar* Shershah appointed a *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* as the head of the *Sarkar* and *Munsif-i-Munsifan*, as chief judicial officer.[5] According to Abbas Khan Sarwani, "in every *Sarkar*, Shershah appointed chief *Shiqdar* and chief *Munsif"*.[6] But *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui* is the first source which called the officer incharge of *Sarkar* administration as *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran*. The appointment of *Shiqdar*, the *Amil*, the treasurer and the writers of the *Pargana* establishment probably rested with the chief *Shiqdar (Shiqdar-i-Shaiqdaran)*, who was directly responsible to the central government for the police and revenue administration of the Pargana. The *Shiqdar* and the *Amil* discharge the duties of Magistarate and collector respectively at the *Pargana* level. The *Qunongos* and *Chaudhuries* were appointed under the *Sanads* of

the provincial *Subedars* during the Mughal rule.[7] The chief *Shiqdar* who keeps the affairs of the *Sarkar* under his control disappeared in the time of Akbar and the magisterial powers were transferred to the *Faujdar* and collectorate duties were taken over by the district *Diwan* in addition to the judicial functions of the chief *Munsif*, who then fades away from the picture under the Mughal administration.[8]

Security at *Pargana* and village Level:

In the *Sarkar*, the law and order administration responsibility was under the *Faujdar,* who was also responsible for the law and order of the *Pargana* grouped of number of villages. The *Faujdari* was an organized executive institution with well defined jurisdiction developed under the Mughals. According to Noman Ahmed Siddiqui's article *(the Faujdar and Faudari under the Mughals)*, "the jurisdiction of *Faujdar* extended over the entire area under his charge which included his own *Jagir* as well as assignment of those who might have been serving elsewhere in the province or in the other parts of Mughal empire". He has further pointed out that this new institution gave stability to the local administration, strengthened the central authority and facilitated the deployment of *mansabdars* in different parts of empire, without disturbing the existing arrangement of the revenue assignments in lieu of the salary.[9] The officers responsible for security at Pargana and village level include all those who were directly or indirectly appointed by the Mughal emperors such as *Faujdar*, *Shiqdar Amil, Amin*, *Thanedar*, *Zamindars* and *Muqaddams*.

***Faujdar*:**

The Mughal appointed *Faujdars* under an organized executive institution called *Faujdari*. It was well defined institution developed under the Mughals. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "the Mughal emperor Akbar for the prosperity of the empire appointed a *Faujdar*, a commander of forces of a few *Parganas".* The *Ain* further indicates that, " he held the charge of both executive officer and that of the military commander, e.g when a cultivator or a collector of the crown lands or an assignee of government estates proved rebellious, he induced to submit by fair words and if that failed, then he was to take the written evidence of the principal officer and proceed to chastise him".[10] As during the time of Jahangir, Sayyid Bahwa[11] had performed satisfactory the duties of *Faujdar* of Delhi and for his excellent duties regarding the protection and administration of the city of Delhi and the *Faujdariship*

of the country, he was promoted and his *mansab* was also increased.[12] The territorial jurisdiction of the *faujdar* has been a subject of some controversy, as the territorial jurisdiction of the *faujdar* extended over an administrative charge was quite independent of the fiscal units of the *Sarkar*. According to Noman Ahmed Saddiqui, "the *faujdari* constituted an independent administrative unit and its territorial limits varied from time to time".[13] The range of *faujdari* functions was very wide and his authority extended over military, police, judicial and revenue affairs. His primary function was to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction and to take necessary military action against those who disturb the authority of the state. At the same time he was associated with the local judiciary and land revenue administration.[14]

However, it reveals that the *faujdar* occupied a key position in local administration under the Mughals. He combined in himself the office of a military commander and that of the executive head of the administrative charge known as *faujdari*. The *faujdar* was appointed as the military commander of the whole *Sarkar* which constituted a number of *Parganas* and villages also.[15] He was appointed to assist the civil and local authorities in the maintenance of peace and security at their respective jurisdiction. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "when any cultivator or *Amil* or *Amalguzar* of the crown lands or any *jagir* or assignee of the government estates proves rebellious, the *faujdar* induced them to submit by fair words. If in this case fair words or persuasion failed, the *faujdar* on the authority of the written evidence of the principal officers, proceed to chastise them. He was also required to pitch his camp in the neighbourhood of the body of rebels and continually inflict loss upon their persons and property but not to raise at once a general engagemen"t. The *Ain* contain certain instructions to *faujdar* that he should not rash in attacking a fort, but encamp beyond bow shot and the reach of the guns and also devised him to obstruct the roads of communication. He should also be prepared against night attacks and devise a place of retreat and be constant in patrolling.[16] *Faujdar*, an officer incharge of law and order was basically required to maintain security at *Pargana* level and render military assistance in collection of land revenue because according to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "he was responsible for the care of the *Parganas* under his jurisdiction".[17] The *faujdar* was directly responsible for the collection of land revenue from the *Zamindars*, who normally avoid payment of land revenue and payed only under threat of force which was employed against them and were described as '*Zortalab Zamindars'*. The *faujdar*

was also indirectly associated with the land revenue administration as he was required to render necessary assistance in collection of land revenue to the *amil* in *Khalisa* or *jagir* lands, on the written request from the *Amil*.[18]

The *faujdar* in the maintenance of law and order performed a number of functions. According to J. N. Sarkar, "as an incharge of the *Parganas,* he took strong action against the rebels and oppressors of the *rayats*. The *faujdar* when reached the place of his service, he was advised already to find out the people who knew the past administration of the locality viz. the *Qunongos* and others and win their hearts and learn from them which of the troops quartered in his *Pargans* are inclined to take advantage of their commanders weakness or the difficulties of the administration and which of them are in secret league with the law less *Zamindars*. He arrange a trusty worth clerk of the imperial court to receive letters from him and on the basis of information thus supplied, to reports on his affairs to the court. He conciliates the local *waqia nawis, swanih nigar* and *harkarahs* (i.e. the official news reporter and spies) in order that they may always write their reports of occurrences in a manner leading to his advancement. He also keep up his practice in the exercise of all the weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so as to keep himself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly, when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance so as to give justice to the oppressed".[19] The *faujdar* was also ordered through a *farman* that, keep spies on guard and also not implicitly trust any individual as such are very rarely faithful and without greediness. He also keep spies in every business and station them in such a manner that they may have no communication with each other. By thus comparing their different accounts, form an opinion of what should be done and remove from office such spies as are well known.[20] The J.N Sarkar has mentioned the *faujdar* duties from the *Sanad* that the *faujdar* duties were to destroy the forts of lawless men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. He was to guard the roads, protect the revenue payers. He assisted and gave armed support to the agents (*gumushtahs*) of the *Jagirdars* (in case of military fiefs) and the *Karoris* (in case of crown lands), at the time of collection of the revenue. He was also ordered to cut the jungles and demolish the illegal forts.[21]

As *faujdar,* his primarily duty was to establish law and order and suppress the trouble makers in the *Parganah*. In 3 July 1658 A.D, Aurangzeb appoints Sayyid Salar to the *faujdari* of the *mauzas* covering *Pargana* Haveli, *Pargana* Nagarbad and

Kabul in place of *Raja* Mohan Singh. Aurangzeb advises him to establish law and order there and suppress the trouble makers. He should see that the land revenue is collected promptly and in full. He should make efforts for peace and happiness of the people.[22] The *faujdars* duty of providing security to the people was his first hand duty. He was always ordered by Mughal emperors to protect the people against the mischief mongers and oppressors. In the *Farman* of 19 Nov. 1628 of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan to Sayyid Nizam and other *faujdars* of *Sarkar* Khairabad states that Shaikh Abdul Munim and others of *Pargana* Sadarpur had lodged a complaint with the emperor to the effect that Kapur, Kalian Dharmankad, Kisan Das and other brothers of Basant robbed and attacked them and in this conflict Abdul Mukarram, Abdul Munim, Mubraiz and others were wounded. Shahjahan ordered to take immediate action in the matter and inflict an exemplary punishment on the mishchief mongers in such a way that it may serve as a lesson to others.[23] Another *farman* of Shahjahan addressed to the *faujdar* of *Sarkar* Lucknow states that Sayyid Mina had personally lodged a complaint against Jahan and other *Rajputs* of *Mauza* Usmanpur etc, of *Pargana* Siddhar for attacking and destroying at night the *Mauza* called Wajihuddinpur which is his ancestral property. Sayyid Mina has therefore prayed for justice. Two of his men namely, Har Har and Raman, have been killed and ten residents of the locality wounded. About 650 cows, 50 buffaloes and 750 other animals have been taken away. Shahjahan issued orders to *faujdar* to investigate into the matter and recover all the plundered property and hand over to the rightful owners. The malefactors should be punished in such a way that it serves as a warning to others and the murderers should be sent to the imperial court. The *faujdar* was also directed by Shahjahan that to take necessary measures to prevent reoccurrence of such incidents in future.[24] The *farman* of Akbar mentioned about the duty of *faujdar* that "bring back the disgruntled to their duty through severity and kindness, according to their own ranks and when they did not admit to do, they should be fettered and beaten and those who are worthy of death should be sent to the court, forwarding along with them an account of their case and subsequently they will obey with the emperors orders. But if by retaining or sending to the court such rebellious characters, there would be a chance of sedition. So, they were to be put to death to overcome the problem caused by them in future also".[25]

The duties of *faujdar* against the rebels were also presented by number of sources. The *faujdar* was required to keep the rebels and the disobedient with in proper limits. He was asked to demolish their forts and to protect the *rayots* and *Malguzars* (i.e. *Zamindars* who paid land revenue). He was ordered to clear the jungles near the forts, so that the rebels would not be able to take shelter there and clear the roads from the theft and robbery. In the time of Aurangzeb, the dispatch of the reporters *(Waqia-i-Nigar)* of Bundelkhand said that, "Debi Singh, the son of unfaithful Pahar Singh Gaur, joining hands with the sons of Champat Singh Bundela, plundered the territories (*Parganas*) of the *Khalisa* Sharifa and other Dependencies (*Taluqas*) of the area. Therefore orders were issued to the *faujdars* of the area to take stern action against them.[26] The rebellion of *Raja* of *Jat* of Akbarabad during Aurangzeb's reign was also suppressed by the *faujdars*. As his rebellious activities became more troublesome and disconcerting than his predecessors and began to harass the people. On account of the disturbance created by this accused *Raja* became so worse that even a bird could dare to open its wings. He also plundered and devastates dependencies (*Parganas*) which formed a part of the capital (Agra) and set his face towards Shahjahanbad with the object of ransacking Sikandara. But they were repulsed back by Mir Abul Fazl, the *Faujdar* of dependency (*Pargana*).[27] The sedition of rebel *Raja* Jat again increased day after day. From the reports of *Waqia Nigar* of Akbarabad, it was brought to notice of the Aurangzeb that accused rebel had appeared at Sikandara and had plundered the tomb of *Hazrat-i-Ashiani* (Akbar), and taken all its carpets, precious stones, plates of gold and silver and destroyed what they were able to carry away. Most of the graves and tombs erected there had been raised to the ground.[28] Niccolo Manucci has also mentioned about this incident of rebellion by Jats. He has mentioned that, " the mausoleum of Akbar was destroyed, looted and also dragged out the bones of Akbar and threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them". The Manucci has further mentioned the reason for this situation of law and order created by the villagers. He has given a detailed proof that they were forced by the governors and *faujdars* to pay land revenue which they refused to pay. As angered by the demands of the *faujdars* for revenue, they assembled and started creating disturbances. Aurangzeb recognized that he could do nothing against the tenacity of such ferocious beats. He therefore called the grandson of *Raja* Jai Singh and Man Singh and many other *Rajas*, so that atleast the Jat villagers might be forced to retreat and manage to make them without attempting anything more against them.[29]

Sometimes the rebels were defeated but it took a long struggle. As rebellion of deceased *Raja's* nephew Churuman Jat near Akbarabad decided to avenge his uncle's death and collected a large number of the mischief mongers. He strengthened the fortresses of Sinsani and Sokar etc, and raised a standard of rebellion much serious than earlier one. He sacked most of the *Parganas* of Akbarabad and Shahjahanbad and because of insurgence, roads and other communication were disrupted. When news reached Aurangzeb, he ordered that *Hasbul Hukum* to be sent to the *Nazims* and *Faujdars* of the regions for the suppression of the rebels. Accordingly a large force was deployed and rebels were defeated after a long struggle.[30] Sometimes if there were some rebellions of the *Rajas* and *Zamindars* in the Mughal kingdom and emperor was informed and he issues in public an order that the governors and *faujdars* be written to assemble and destroy the rebels and send their heads to the court. If their forces are insufficient, report it and they might send them troops to overcome the rebels and eject them from kingdom.[31]

The *faujdari* comprised of number of *Parganas* under *faujdar*, who performed a number of functions. An account of some of the functions and duties of *faujdar* mentioned by Fatima Zehra Bilgrami in her article, *"Hidayat'ul-Qawa'd: an administrative manual of the early eighteenth century"* indicates that, " *faujdar* was overall incharge of law and order in the *Parganas"*. The article has mentioned a number of duties performed by the *faujdar* i.e. "a *faujdar* should be brave and considerate towards troops. He should recruit soldiers from amongst the known families of confident brave soldiers. When he reaches his jurisdiction he should enquire about the former officers of the place, *Qunongos* etc and console and favour them to discover the nature of the soldiers as to who are in control and who are linked with rebellious *Zamindars*. He should know about the revenues and seditious behavior of the *Zamindars* in the past, treat the leader of the rebellious *Zamindars* with kindness. If the rebellious *Zamindars* were persuaded, well and good, otherwise they would be supposed to be reprimanded till they obediently pays the revenue. If he wants to control the rebels with small force, he must win over those who are the enemy of the seditious ones with the promise of the *Mahals* of the latter and with the help of their troops crush the rebels. His administration will get a good name and rebels will be afraid and pay regular revenue. He should gain favourable opinion of *Waqia Nigar, Swaniah Nigar and Harkara,* as their reports would lead to his

promotion. He should practice archery, spear throwing etc, the weapons of war and hunting. Hunting will enable him to get to know all the good and bad routes and other affairs and he should therefore get habituated to their skill. He should practice riding and carry weapons, and always administer justice to the innocent. It would be better for him in both the worlds".[32] The present study of *faujdar* reveals that he occupied a key position in the local administration especially *Parganas* which were under his control throughout the Mughal Empire.

***Shiqdar*:**

Shiqdar was another important officer at *Pargana* level for the maintenance of peace, security and law and order. His duties were mostly confined to the Pargana administration. The *Shiqdar* who combined in himself the functions of the military and civil officer, remained incharge of Pargana administration in this capacity and he wielded authority over the *Amil* (revenue collector), *Amin* (official incharge with the duty of measuring the land under cultivation for determining the government share in agriculture produce) and the hereditary petty village officials called as *Muqaddams* in the villages.[33] In the time of Shershah (the second Afghan empire), there were 13000 *Parganas*, for which he appointed *Shiqdar* for the police and revenue administration of the *Parganas*.[34] The *Shiqdar* also discharge the duties of magistrate at *Pargana* level.[35] Shershah made his life time experience in the administrative setup when he was appointed *Shiqdar* to his father's *Jagir*, where he found that this system more or less the same as existed in the days of early *Turks*. The *Shiqdar* was then the most important revenue official and had under his charge one or more *Parganas*. He was assisted by *Navsindan* (writer) and the *Muqaddam*, who had their own separate crude paper *(Kagaz-i-Kham)*.[36] The *Shiqdar* was held responsible for any crime and safety of the people of his jurisdiction of *Pargana*. He was also held responsible for thefts and robberies in his *Pargana*. In the time of Islam Shah there was no doubt a *Shiqdar* also and there was a case of *Shiqdar* who protested that, *"Why a Shiqdar should be compelled to make good the loss in territory caused by theft and robbery. The Islam Shah coolly replied that because people paid 'Baj' for it"*. This little anecdote clears that the *Shiqdar* duties included prevention of theft and robbery also. In the time of Shershah, the *Muqaddam* was held responsible for it. But Islam Shah placed the responsibility more on the *Shiqdar*.[37] During the period of Akbar, who after making revival of law of administration, issued an order for the *Shiqdar* of an empire that they

should keep an account of the numbers and the occupation of inhabitants, village by village and should classify them. They were not to allow anyone to live without some trade and occupation and they were also to look narrowly into the income and expenditure of the men, so that the good people would be differentiated from among the corrupt and bad people, whose minds are full of filth and bad intentions for the Mughal government. By this enlightened order there emerged prosperity in the whole Mughal territory of India under Akbar.[38] The *Shiqdar* also hold authority over the highways passing through his *Pargana* and was held responsible for keeping the highways safe from the highway plunderers and inflict strict punishment was inflicted on those who kept any arm or weapon in his house without any license or order from any superior authority. As Bairam Khan Niyazi, who was *Shiqdar* of Kanauj so subjected the contumacious and the highway plunderers inhabiting the *Pargana* of Malkansah that no man dared to draw a breath in contravention of his orders. Bairam Khan Niyazi so established the authority over the people of Kanauj that no man kept in his house a sword, an arrow, or bow, or a gun or any iron article whatever, except the implements of husbandry and cooking utensils and if he ordered the headman of any village to attend him, they obeyed his orders and dared not for one moment to absent themselves. The fear and dread of him was so thoroughly instilled into the turbulent people of those parts, that according to the measurement they paid their revenue to the revenue collectors.[39]

From the article, *"Documents relating to Pargana administration in the Deccan under Asaf Jaha -1* by Zahiruddin Malik has mentioned some facts recorded in the *Dastur-al-Amal Alamgiri*, that, "*shiqdar* appeared to be an officer of subordinate rank in the *Pargana* administration. He was especially held responsible for the enforcement of revenue collection and development of land. He was required to act different to his sensible opinion and decisions which had been necessary for the success of government and prosperity of peasants and in achieving these two particular ends he had exert his utmost". From the light of this statement, it is very clear to mention that he was held responsible for the revenue collection and prosperity and well being of the peasants in his *Pargana*.[40]

The chief *Shiqdar* who was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order, also tried criminal cases affecting law and order. He had at his command a body of troops meant for policing the *Sarkar* and enforcing revenue collection from

the refractory *Mahals* (*Parganas*). But in the time of Akbar, the chief *Shiqdar* disappeared and the magisterial powers of this functionary were transferred to the *faujdar*, his collectorate duties had been taken over by the district *Diwan* and he then fades away from the picture of Mughal administration.[41]

***Amil* and *Amin*:**

The *Amil* or the *Amalguzar* or economically the collector of revenue was the representative of the empire. He was established at every *Pargana* and everyone had an easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator.[42] As discussed above in the chapter that when *Shiqdar* disappeared from the picture of Mughal administration and the magisterial powers of the functionary were transferred to other officers, the post of *Amil* got more importance and representation in the Mughal administration. During the time of Shershah's period, the position of the *Amil* besides *Shiqdar,* was of considerable importance and very lucrative post and was considered sinecure. As R. P. Tripathi has quoted the Abbas Khan Sarwani *(Tarikh-i-Shershahi)* that, *"Shershah himself observed that there was no job as profitable as of Amaldari, and therefore it was his policy to change amils every year or two years so that the profit might go to a large number of officials"*.[43] The police and revenue administration of the *Parganas* during the Shershah period were discharged by the *Shiqdar* and *Amil*.[44]

The duties of *Amil* were not only to collect the revenue of the state but also to perform security duties, law and order and maintain peace and security in their respective areas so that there would be peaceful collection of state demand. The *Amil* was also expected not to oppress or injure the people or embezzle the state revenue and if the people from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit create a disturbance regarding the collection of revenue, they were eradicated and destroyed with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion would not spread to other areas.[45] The *Ain-i-Akbari* has mentioned a detailed account about the *Amil* regarding his duties that, "when he was in the area of *Pargana*, he was to deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by counsel and advice and if this failed, he was to proceed to chastise him without any apprehension of the land falling waste. He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers and evil doers and he should administer the case properly. As *Amil* was left with the police duties and made him responsible for punishing contumacy and rebellion, he was also made responsible to

keep a strict watch over his staff to see that no injustice was committed and only the prescribed dues were realized from the cultivators".[46]

For the protection of roads from the thieves and highway robbery, Shershah made regulations as follows; "he strictly impressed on his *Amils* that if theft and robbery occurred within their limits and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *Muqaddams* of the surrounding villages and if the *Muqaddam* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts where the offenders were sheltered, the thieves were punished according to the holy law. The *Muqaddam* of the village where the crime had occurred were compelled to pay the compensation for the loss of the goods. And if the murder had occurred and the murderer was not discovered, the *Amils* were ordered to arrest the *Muqaddams* and imprison them and gave them time period within which to declare the murderers. If he produced the murderer or pointed out where he lived, the *Muqaddam* was released and free to go. The murderer was then put to death but if the *Muqaddam* of the village where murder had occurred could not find out, the *Muqaddam* was then put to death for his negligence in his duties. As it had been generally ascertained that theft and robberies can take place by the involvement of these village headmen and if in some rare cases, a theft or robbery does occur within the limits of a village without the knowledge of the *Muqaddam*, he will shortly make enquiry and may ascertain the circumstances of it. If a *Muqaddam* harbour thieves and robbers unknown to the *Amils* or governors, he was punished or even put to death, that it would be a warning to others to refrain from similar acts".[47] Shershah also directed his *Amils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travelers well in every way and not to injure them at all and if the merchant would die by the way the goods of merchants were not to be opened as they were un-owned.[48] The Mughal emperor Jahangir also issued an ordinance (*Dastur-ul-Amal*), "that the bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them or in their absence and strict punishment was prescribed for that misbehavior towards the merchants".[49]

During the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar, several regulations (*Fasle*) were proposed for the better enlightenment. He first issued regulation that, "the collectors (*Amalguzars*) or the *Amils* of the crown lands (*Khalisa*) should collect the rent and taxes in accordance with the regulations *(Dastur-ul-amals)*. If by wickedness and tyranny, they took from the cultivators more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned

as the legitimate rent and the oppressors were to be fined and the amount were to be entered in the monthly accounts. They should at harvest enquire into the minutest details and protect the subjects. Akbar was of the view that the thread of the administration of the justice was to be double one, so that the suppliants were to be refunded and extortionists were to be punished".[50] The second regulation was that, "the collectors of the crown lands had two clerks *(Bitikchi)* - i.e a '*Karkun'* and *'Kasnavis'*. Generally both of them were corrupt in collusion with the village head men *(Kalantaran)* and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one trustworthy and right-acting officer was to be appointed, so that the country would be developed and peasants would remain peaceful".[51] The *Amil* was to keep a strict watch over his staff and to see that no injustice was committed and only the dues prescribed by the state were realized by the cultivators. *Amil* was left with police duties and also responsible for punishing contumacy and rebellion. When a separate assessment officer called *Amin* was appointed in the *Pargana*, police duties gained more importance among the functions of the *Amil* and he came to be called as *faujdar* as well.[52] The *Amin* was also expected to perform law and order duties and to investigate the case in the areas assigned. In the reign of Aurangzeb a complaint was made by Nariji Deshmukh and others, residents of Tajkala Thana, Sarkar Basim, in the *Suba* of Berar, against the oppression of Nusrat son of Fath Jang, the *Faujdar*. In this connection imperial orders were issued to Wizarat Panah Shafi Khan that a trust worthy *Amin* should be appointed to investigate the case.[53] The Amin, who was chief assessment officer of the Pargana, was instructed by the government to examine the conditions of the peasants. In making annual assessment he was required to display the qualities of judicious and farsighted person, which would ultimately result in the prosperity of peasants. For the promotion of agriculture he was not only to increase the area of cultivation but also to put oppression and injustice against peasants to an end.[54]

A number of *Farmans* were issued by the Mughals regarding the collection of revenue by collectors' i.e. *Amils or Amalguzars*. In these *farmans* it was strictly laid down that these officers should not make any trouble or create a situation of oppression on cultivators i.e *Rayats* in connection with revenue collection. The *farman* of Muhammad Shah, during the reign of Aurangzeb issued to *Amils* clearly indicates that *Amils* and *karoris* should not trouble during revenue collection from

cultivators and do not collect other cesses like *Mal-o-Jihat* and *Akhrajat*.[55] But there are number of cases regarding the oppression of *Rayats* or cultivators by the Mughal officers in the matter of revenue collection. The *Amils* appointed for the collection of revenue charged sometimes harshly from the *Rayats* and even some time these peasants or cultivators were so much oppressed in revenue collection that they left their homes and fields and migrated to other places especially the non-Mughal areas or areas of local *Rajas*, so that they can live a peaceful and secure life and also free from oppression of revenue collectors. In the case of Shaikh Farid Bukhari, a Mughal nobleman who appointed an *Amil* and expected more revenue from *Amils*, the *rayats* migrated to other areas due to the harsh treatment by the revenue collectors. The Sheikh Farid then surrendered that Fief and obtained another in its place.[56] Francisco Palsaert *(Jahangir's India)* has mentioned in his account that, "the officials of revenue collection treated peasants very harshly and were pitilessly oppressed. If revenue villages produced small revenue, their wives and children were sold on the pretext of charge of rebellion and some peasants escaped their tyranny and take refugee with the *Rajas* who are in rebellion and consequently the fields were left empty and unsown".[57] Francisco Bernier has also mentioned about these oppressions on peasants by Mughal officers that, " for charging the revenue demands of their rapacious lords and the poor peasants who did not fulfilled the demands of the state were carried away as slaves and in order to escape from the tyranny and oppression of Mughal officials they abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or camps as bearers of burden, carrier of water or servants of horsemen and sometimes fly to the territories of *Raja*, because there they find less oppression and are allowed a greater degree of comfort".[58]

Mughal emperors in order to overcome these situations of insecurity, law and order in the *Parganas* and villages, issued various regulations, orders and *farmans* to the Mughal officials regarding the welfare and security of peasants. Akbar issued an order to the government servants that they should use their endeavors to increase their cultivation, to conciliate the cultivators and give them advances in money, so that villages may yearly increase and collect the revenue from the villages in an easy manner, in order that the lands may be cultivated and blessed with population. Akbar has stressed more on collection of revenue from cultivators in a peaceful manner.[59] A *farman* of Aurangzeb to Rasik Das *Karori* in the form of revenue guide mentioned

that, “when he himself go to a village to access the conditions of *Parganas* properly, he should see the condition of crops properly, the capacity of *rayat* and amount of revenue. He should also check the village officials like *Muqaddams* or *Patwaris* that if they practiced oppression, he should conciliate the *rayats* and give them their dues properly”. The *farman* clearly indicates that Aurangzeb was very much concerned with the welfare of the peasantry and increase of cultivation for the prosperity of the empire.[60] The security of the villages was to be the core responsibility of the village officials, both Mughal and non-Mughal. As discussed earlier the villages were grouped to form a *Pargana* which was a fiscal as well as territorial unit and contained under its jurisdiction a number of villages from five to twelve or more village. The security, peace, law and order were the responsibility of the *Zamindars*, *Muqaddams* etc. In the villages, as it is mentioned by a number of sources that village peasantry was very much oppressed by the village officials in revenue collection and due to which cultivation was ruined and causes the flight of the peasantry to the territories of Hindu *Rajas* as already discussed in this chapter earlier.

***Zamindars*:**

The Mughal Emperors maintain a balance between various regional groups in the empire in order to overcome the situation of rebellion or joining of hands of regional groups against the Mughal Empire. The Mughals from Akbar’s period onwards started an alliance with the *Zamindars* or local ruling class of different regions. This alliance with them was developed by the Mughals in order to maintain a political and economic stability in the empire. As Satish Chandra has mentioned that about the relations with the Rajput *Zamindars*, “a new thinking has developed that the Rajput policy was a part and parcel of a longer policy of alliance with the *Zamindars*, because after the expulsion of Mughals from India by the Afghans, it had been realized by the Mughals that they would not be able to rule over India without the alliance of *Zamindars”*.[61] The *Zamindars* of different *Parganas* were expected by the Mughals to maintain stability and create peaceful atmosphere in their respective areas. The Zamindars like Rajput chiefs also provide services to the Mughals in the battle fields, because they could bring large number of Rajput soldiers to the field. Francois Bernier has also mentioned in a detailed account about the Rajput *Zamindars*. He has mentioned that, “Mughals retain *Rajput Rajas* in their services because they were excellent soldiers and could bring more than twenty thousand soldiers to the field. The

Mughals employed them easily against the Afghans or rebellions of *Umrahs* or governors. As Rajput chiefs belonged to the armed background, they were kept in check by the Mughals through their submission to the Mughals, by paying annual tribute (*Peshkash*), as also called as *Peskashi Zamindars* by the Mughals and their personal visit to the Mughal court, when they were summoned by the Mughals". These regulations which were to be followed by the *Zamindars* were a part of the policy of alliance of Mughals which remained intact up to the last phase of Aurangzeb's period.[62]

Nurul Hasan who presented a detail account about the types and roles of *Zamindars* under the Mughals has mentioned that how this class played a vital role in the political and economic life of medieval India. According to Nurul Hassan, "during the Mughal period, the importance of this class increased and its position in society became more complex. Inspite of constant struggle between the imperial government and *Zamindars* for a greater share of produce, the two became the partners in the process of economic exploitation. Politically there was a clash of interest between the Mughal government and the *Zamindars*. Most of the administrative difficulties which the Mughals had to face were the result of the *Zamindari* activities. At the same time, the administration had to lean heavily on their support".[63] The *Zamindars* of Mughal Empire were classified into three categories by Nurul Hasan i.e the autonomous chiefs, the intermediary *Zamindars* and the Primary *Zamindars*. He has also mentioned different types of activities performed by these *Zamindars* and he has mentioned about the chieftains, as they were autonomous rulers of their territories and enjoyed practically sovereign powers. They were assigned to pay regular tribute and to render military assistance. But Nurul Hasan has also mentioned that there were many cases of resistance and rebellions by these chieftains. In response to these activities, the Mughals put pressure on them and they were suppressed. When *Raja* Sangram, the chieftain of Kharakpur in Bihar, incurred the displeasure of the emperor and action was taken against him, he was killed and his territories were taken over in *Khalisa*, but after sometime they were restored to his son, *Raja* Roza Fzun.[64]

The *Zamindars* of the Mughal Empire were compelled to confirm imperial regulations, especially in regard to the maintenance of security, law and order and freedom of transit to merchants and travellers. They were also expected by the Mughals to take action against rebellious, criminals and fugitives, who entered their

territories. Mughals were also dependent on the support of *Zamindars* for military services and law and order. Consequently they were presented with *mansabs* and increment by the Mughal emperors. There are many references in the Mughal sources about the services performed by the *Zamindars* for the security of the *Parganas* of the Mughal Empire. E.g, during Aurangzeb's reign, Raja Udwat Singh, *Zamindar* of Urchha, serving in the army of Feroz Jang Khan was made *Faujdar* of Irij with an increment of 500 *zat*, making him a 2-*hazari*.[65] During the 18th year of Auranzeb's reign, Prithvi singh, *Zamindar* of Jammu was appointed to accompany Ludi khan in the Kabul expedition and he was bestowed for his services.[66] The Raja Sangram, the chieftain of Jammu was ordered by Jahangir to march with his men to Kishtwar to accompany the Jalal Khan son of Dilawar Khan with soldiers of Kashmir towards the conquest of Kishtwar, as the *Zamindar* of Kishtwar raised the rebellion against the Mughals and all the Mughal officers and guards were killed.[67] After the conquest of Kishtwar by the Mughals, was honoured with the title of *Raja* and a *mansab* of 1000 personal (zat) and 500 Horse (sawar) and was also exalted with the gift of an elephant and a dress of honour.[68] Later on he was promoted and presented with 1500 *zat* and 1000 *sawar*.[69] The *Zamindars* were also expected by the Mughals that they should in their own behalf keep control of Mughal territories from the rebellious servants. The petition *(Arz-dasht)* of the Abdul Karim, *Zamindar* of Mahajan Penth was place before the emperor indicating that the fort Ram Sej has been captured and was passed onto the hands of Mughal control. For the services of Abdul Karim *Zamindar*, the emperor Aurangzeb bestowed upon him a special robe *(Khilat-i-Khasa)*, made an increase of 500 in his *mansab* with Rs. 10,000 cash and reward (*Inam*) with an elephant and studded *Jamdhar*.[70] As Raja Rup Chand of Gwalior had been very active in his service at Kangra, an order was given to the chief Diwan to hand over half of his native place to him in free gift and remaining half as *Tankhwah jagir*. The Raja Rup Chand was bestowed by Jahangir for his services in Kangra in performing security and keeping law and order in the hilly region.[71]

Mughals also expected from the *Zamindars* to keep roads safe and their security for Mughal traffics. During the Mughal expedition of Kashmir under Akbar, a letter was sent in advance to the *Raja* of Rajouri, asking his assistance and promising that he would be suitably rewarded. The Mast Khan fell with this proposal and went to meet Mughal commander. The advance was then made through Rajouri

and by the way of *Pir Panjal* pass and supplies and transport were provided by the *Raja* and he himself accompanied the army with his contingent towards Kashmir. After the victory of Mughals over the Kashmiris, the *Raja* of Rajouri was then rewarded with the *Khilat* and a *Jagir* of Rs. 50,000, value in Kashmir. In 1589 when Akbar visited Kashmir and the *Raja* meet him on the border with suitable presents and was favorably received. Observing that the ruler though Muslim, bore the title of *Raja*, the emperor remarked that it should be exchanged for *Nawab*. The *Raja* replied that the title of *Nawab* was unknown in the hills and begged to be allowed to retain the old title. This was granted but an order was given that all the ruling family under the *Raja* should be addressed as *Mirza* and the custom is still in force in Rajouri families. This statement shows that Mughal paid respect for the services of *Zamindars* through *Khilats*, titles and *mansabs*.[72] For the security on the roads, *Zamindars* also keep check on the roads for Mughals and travellers e.g on the way through Bahramgalla (Pass through Mughal road to Kashmir), there were two *Zamindars* on the road in whose charge were the arrangements for traffic on it and they maintain security on the road and in reality the keys of the country of Kashmir. These *Zamindars* were Mahdi Nayak and Hussain Nayak. The charge of road was from Hirapur to Bharamgalla in their hands.[73] Jahangir also entrusted to the *Raja* of Rajouri the care of the main road from the plains and he was ordered to construct *Chaukis* and posts guards all along the road to Kashmir. A fort was therefore built at Nowshera and placed incharge his grandson Inayatullah Khan. The *Raja* was also called upon by Jahangir to furnish a contingent for expedition in Baltistan which was also place under the command of Inayatullah Khan.[74]

Some *Zamindars* were also expected by Mughals for performing duties of *Jagirdars* and were also rewarded by increasing their *mansabs*, e.g the grant of the rank of *Dhat* (*zat*) and 20 *Sawar* was rewarded to Hamid son of Harun, *zamindar* of Paitha Dholi on the recommendation of the prince Aurangzeb. The *mansab* was granted to him to fulfill the duties of *Jagirdar* of aforesaid Paitha and looked after the welfare of the inhabitants and protected the highways.[75] A collection of Mughal documents (1628-1659) by S. A. I. Tirmizi, has presented a number of *Nishans* (orders) to *Zamindars* by Mughal rulers and princes. In these documents, there is a mention of one Rai Akhej Raj, *Zamindar* of Siroli, who performed duties for the Mughals. He was addressed by Mughal Princes a number of times to perform duties

towards the stability, security and law and order, besides he was also called for military support in many expeditions. E.g a *Nishan* of 1656 A.D, of Prince Murad Baksh addressed to *Raja* Akhej Raj, *Zamindar* of Sirohi to redress the inhabitants of Dantiwara who have suffered much on account of atrocities of one Kesari, a Rajput of Hathiwara. The document mentions that the Rajput had performed evil activities, killed and wounded and also looted several followers of Sayyid Rafi when he reached the vicinity of Dantiwara. The *Zamindar* Akej Raj was ordered to chastise the culprit and recover all the looted property and further he was also warned by the prince that if he does not take action properly, the matter will be reported to the emperor.[76] Another *Nishan* of Prince Dara Shukoh addressed to Rai Akhej Raj *Zamindar* of Sirohi in which he was ordered to maintain law and order in his *Mahal* with the help of well trained army and to be vigilant and watchful all the time and if he finds the situation out of control he was ought to inform imperial court, so that suitable measures would be taken to remedy to the situation.[77] This Mughal document issued to the *Zamindars* had made it clear that Mughals always keep these *Zamindars* in touch with the imperial regulations and were expected by them in performing duties to keep their respective areas in the proper law and order, so that there would be no insecurity to Mughals and non Mughals areas. A *farman* of Shahjahan (1656-1657) also addressed to Rai Akhej Raj, states that whatever thefts has been committed in the *Mahal*, which is a part of his *Zamindari*, he should take suitable measures, so that no theft take place and the stolen property be restored to the rightful owner. He was also advised to safeguard the inhabitants and travellers, so that they travel safely in his territory.[78]

Mughals also provide security and help to *Zamindars* in their respective territories in maintaining law and order and security in their *Mahals* or *Parganas* near the directly Mughal controlled areas. E.g a *Nishans* of Prince Dara Shukoh (1657 A.D) addressed to Rai Akhej Raj, a number of times directing him to administer his territory properly and informs Mughals in need of military support in the maintenance of law and order in his territory. He (*Zamindar*) was also indicated number of times that troops will be sent whenever required as Jaswant Singh maintains an efficient army in the *Pargana* Jalur and can approach him for military help.[79] The *Zamindars* of Marw-Warwan *Pargana* in the province of Kashmir also showed loyalty and kindness to Mughals during the reign of Jahangir and Aurangzeb. A number of *farmans* issued by Mughal rulers in favour of Zamindars of *Pargana* Marew-Warwan

reflects a clear picture about the allegiance and obedience by *Zamindars* towards Mughal emperors. These *Zamindars* of the frontier *Parganas* of Kashmir also present their attendance before the Mughals with their followers in the Mughal expeditions. A *farman* (document) of Dilawar Khan, governor of Kashmir issued during the rule of Mughal emperor Jahangir to Zidar Malik Raina, *Zamindar* of Marew-Warwan *Pargana* (see f*raman* No. 2), provides us information about the loyalty and responsibility of Zamindars in the protection and happiness of subjects and increase in the cultivation of land.[80]

Another *farman* (see *farman* No. 3) of Mughal period providing a details of voluntary agreement of Zafar Malik son of Ali Malik, *Zamindar* of Marev-Warwan frontier who had given in writing the names Rehman Malik, Fati Malik, Ahmad Malik, Fatah Malik, Bhadur Malik, Yusuf Raina and Lala Raina, Zamindars of the said frontier that they should discharge their duties and would be faithful and would also show due allegiance. The document had made a clear representation that these *Zamindars* were faithful to the Mughals in discharging their duties in far-flung areas and avoid the rebellious attitude towards Mughals. The document has a seal of Riza Muhammad, who was the servant of emperor Aurangzeb dated 1676 A.D.[81]

The third *Farman* (see *farman* No. 4)) related to *Zamindars* of Marev-Warwan Pargana is a *Tasdiq* (certificate) of attendance of Ali Raina *Zamindar* of Marev-Warwan with their followers in attendance of Mughal emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb) during their expedition to the cold region of Tibet.

The document has mentioned a list of 509 men, horsemen and foot soldiers. A list of ten horse men is also given.

1) The Sai'd (Ali Raina) son of Sultan Raina, one man.

2) Ismail Raina ……........................do………………….

3) Abdur Rehman Raina………….do………………….

4) Bhadur Raina…………………..do………………….

5) Sangar (Shankar) Raina son of Sultan Raina, one man.

6) Madarasi Raina son of Hasan Raina, one man.

7) Fati Raina son of Hatam Raina, one man.

8) Fati Raina son of Sultan Raina, one man.

9) Yusuf Raina son of Abdul Raina, one man.

10) Fati Raina son of Mahdi Raina, one man.

The above list of small *Zamindars* (horse men) had accompanied Ali Raina for participating in the Mughal expedition in Tibet. The *Farman* has mentioned clearly that the *Zamindars* of the *Parganas* of hilly and frontier areas were also expected by the Mughals to accompanied them in expeditions and provide them security and guidance over the routes of that particular *Pargana* to which they belonged. They were also expected by Mughals to provide all possible services.[82]

These documents of *Zamindars* of *Pargana* Marev-Warwan provides us a lot of information that the authority of Mughals over hilly and mountainous areas were also accepted and these *Zamindars* paid respect and showed loyalty to the Mughals in performing their duties of maintaining peaceful atmosphere and providing a security and safe passage to Mughals along different routes of their respective *Parganas*.

The *Zamindars* of Jammu region was also appointed to accompany the Mughals in their expeditions. As during the 18th year of Aurangzeb's reign, Prithvi Singh, *Zamindar* of Jammu was also appointed to accompany Ludi Khan in the Mughal expedition of Kabul.[83] The *Zamindars* who perform their duties perfectly were also rewarded by the Mughal emperors. The *Zamindars* duties were not only to pay tribute and attend Mughal courts periodically but also to protect and look after the welfare of the inhabitants and also protect the highways weather Mughal or non-Mughal, because security, law and order was the first priority of the Mughals. This statement also makes us clear about the fact that Mughal state was a military state. Some of the *Zamindars* who fulfilled the duties of a *Jagirdar* and looked after the inhabitants and protected the highways were granted higher rank as the rank of 60 *zat* and 20 *sawar* was granted to Hamid, son of Harun, *Zamindar* of Paitha Dholi, on the recommendation of the Prince Aurangzeb for the duties performed by him.[84]

According to Nurul Hasan, "politically and administratively, the *Zamindar* class in general rendered loyal cooperation and assistance to the Mughal Empire". He

is of the view that, " the conflicts of interest between the *Zamindar* class and the state and between the different classes of *Zamindars* could not be eliminated. The conflict led to frequent clashes, disturbs the law and order and seriously weakened the administrative and military power of the state. The numerous measures adopted by the Mughal government to resolve those contradictions worked well, but only for a time".[85] The *Zamindars* especially chiefs hardly ever missed the opportunity of taking advantage of difficulties facing the Mughal empire e.g, the Chieftains of Orissa and Bengal supported Shahjahan when he rebelled against his father, but they quickly deserted the rebel prince when he was defeated by the imperial forces and sometimes due to various difficulties, the Mughal government was unable to maintain its military pressure on the Zamindars, led to the revolt in their respective *Parganas* with the support of lower class *Zamindars* and sometimes peasants also. E.g, in 17th century during the period of Aurangzeb, the chieftains of Maharashtra, Bundelkhand, Mewat and Rajputana took up arms against the Mughal Empire with the support of lower class of *Zamindars* and peasants.[86] The *Zamindars,* who were tributary chiefs of Mughals when got an opportunity, marched against the imperial forces e.g, the *Zamindar* of Chitaldurg, who had been humiliated by the Qasim Khan, came to fight with his some thousand infantry on getting an opportunity against Qasim Khan.[87] In the hilly areas from Satluj to Chenab, the revolts seem to have been general. During the Akbar's reign, Zain Khan Koka was place in command of strong fort for the suppression of the revolts and as a good strategist entered the hills of Pathankot and separates the enemies forces and conquer them and all the hill chiefs accompanied the Zain Kahan Koka to the court where they apologized and tender their allegiance and ultimately they were pardoned and then returned to their respective areas. Even Akbar also initiated the practice of requiring hostages from the hill states to ensure the fidelity of the chiefs or *Zamindars*. The hostages usually were a son, brother, uncle or near relative of the ruling chief and he had to remain in attendance before the emperor. During the Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes as hostages from the hill states at the Mughal court.[88] When the *Rajas* or tributary chiefs or *Zamindars* of hilly regions started behaving contumacy in their *Parganas* and did not present themselves before the court, their dissatisfaction were put down in that region and the security, law and order was established in order to protect the humble peasantry from lawlessness and oppression. As in the case of Bikramajit, *Zamindar* of the province of Bandhu (Mandhu), who had withdrawn his foot from the circle of obedience and

service, Jahangir appointed Maha Singh, grandson of *Raja* Man Singh, to put down dissatisfaction in that region and the *Jagir* of the *Raja* was also administered by him in that neighbourhood for some time.[89] During the reign of Akbar *Zamindars* of Jammu also made a long hand of oppression against the villages of *Pargana* Muzaffarwal and Bhahlulpur. But Husain Beg son of Umari, who held these places in fief, prepared in Rohtas the means of punishing and went in that direction, but was not fully successful in giving them a setback.[90] When Husain Beg, besieged the fort of Jammu, the *Zamindar* of Nagarkot and the other Land owners and hill men of the *Parganas* of Lakhanpur, Jasrota, Mankot, came to help the *Raja* or ruler, but were unsuccessful in their attempt and fled away by night. The areas of Ramgarh, Jasrota, Jammu and Mankot were taken away by the Mughals.[91]

As we have studied the different types of revolts by the *Zamindars* in almost every *Suba* of the Mughal empire, the Irfan Habib, who has studied documents written from the official point of view, assumed as matter of course that, "the main danger to law and order came from the *Zamindars*, who refused to pay the land revenue and had had to be subjugated by force either by the *faujdar* or the *jagirdar"*.[92] Even during the period of Farid (later Shershah) at Sasaram, which was the *Jagir* of his father where *Zamindars* also commit all sort of crimes and offences such as theft, highway robbery and refused to pay revenue and also behaved contumacy in their *Parganas* and even did not present themselves at the governor's court *(Makhma-i-Hakim)* and also harass the villages in their neighbourhood. These *Zamindars* were often warned but they took no heed. When Farid Khan (Shershah) collected force and commanded every one of his villages crushed the rebellious *zamindars* and collected revenue and other duties. Although the rebels who humbled themselves in every way and offered to pay a large sum of money to Farid Khan, who did not accept the money and said that, *"the rebels first fight and oppose the rulers, if they find him weak, they persist in rebelliousness, but if they see that he is strong, they came to him deceitfully and humble themselves and agree to pay a sum of money and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone, but as soon as they find an opportunity, they returned to their evil ways."* [93] Farid Khan acted swiftly on *Zamindars* and rebels who create insecurity and law and order problems in the villages and harass the peasants. He mounted and attacked the criminal *Zamindars* and also put all the rebels to death. Besides this, their women and children were made

prisoners and ordered his men to sell them or keep them as slaves and also brought other peoples to the villages and settled them there. When the other rebels or *Zamindars* heard of the death punishment, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy and abstained from theft and robbery.[94] The duties performed by the Rajput *Zamindars* under the Mughals were also extraordinary as Nurul Hasan has presented a detailed case study of *Raja* Jai Singh under Shahjahan. Nurul Hasan has mentioned in his study from the *farmans* of Bikanar State Archives. From these studies it is very important to understand the relation of Rajputs with Mughals regarding security of the empire and maintenance of peace, law and order in the areas under direct and indirect control of Rajput *Zamindars*. A *farman* of 13th Nov. 1632, states that, "some Rajput *Zamindars* are creating turbulence and suppression in the *Jagir* of Ratan Singh Kachawa in the *Pargana* of Roshanpur and Narain and these turbulent Rajput *Zamindars* have killed some innocent people, the orders were passed to Jai Singh to expelled those *Zamindars* from their *Zamindari*, so that there would be no further oppression". A number of *farmans* were also issued by the Mughals to Raja Jai Singh to suppress the turbulent elements. A document of 12th of May 1638, states that, "some Chauhans and Jadon Zamindars of *Pargana* Deoti Sanchari have joined hands with Sabal Singh, Parasram and others *'Badgujars'*, who are turbulent and troublemakers and have been brought to *Pargana* by Jai Singh. He was ordered that these should be expelled so that no one in the *Pargana* is oppressed and if any one gave shelter to these troublemakers, he would also be punished".[95] Not only this, the Rajput *Zamindars* were also asked to perform the duties of safe transit of imperial treasures passing through the areas of other Rajput *Zamindars*. E.g on 26th may 1654, Jai Singh was asked for assistance to arrange for the safe conduct and transport of 2 crore *dams* from the *Pargana* Mirat to the imperial court.[96]

Muqaddam:

The security, law and order problem in the villages was the responsibility of the *Muqaddam*, who was the village headman. He was responsible for the security of the cultivators of the villages. One village had a one *Muqaddam* but sometimes there could be two or three *Muqaddams* in one village with joint *Muqaddami* right of a village.[97] Irfan Habib has mentioned that, "in the official documents it is originally not the village community but the headman usually called the *Muqaddam* in the northern India and *Patel* in the *Dakhin*, who appears as the principle person in

authority in the village". Besides *Muqaddam*, there was also a village *Patwari* or village accountant. Irfan Habib has also mentioned that, "a village could have more than one headman and as many as seven". He has given a reference from different sources, that during Jahangir's reign in *Pargana* Navsari (Southern Gujrat) there were many Brahmans who carried on cultivation like peasants (*raiyats*) and from amongst them, who were big men (*Kalan*), came to be *Muqaddam* in those villages. He has given some details from the documents in which transactions of 1558 or 1569 shows that the four sellers of land in the village of Vrindaban designate themselves '*Panch'* in the '*Braj'* version, but *Muqaddam* in the Persian. The *Muqaddam* was a peasant himself and his office was hereditary but sometimes could also be bought and sold, testifying to the growth of money relations.[98] *Muqaddam* was not a government servant or on the pay roll of Mughals, but he was responsible for the security, law and order and welfare of the peasants in the village. Besides this he was also responsible for the payment of revenue assessed n the village. But the revenue authorities who could at times depose headman for failing in his obligations, could exercised the power of nominating headmen for villages that were newly settled or were due to be settled and for old villages where the office was vacant owing to the absence of natural heirs.[99] The *Muqaddam* of the village enjoys certain share for his services performed in the village. He was given perquisite of two and half percent from the collections of *Khalisa* or government lands, or remuneration from assessed land of the village, to be held by them revenue-free or through a deduction of the same percentage from the total revenue collected by them.[100]

The *Muqaddam* who was a village headman was largely responsible for the prosperity of cultivators, who were the support of the prosperity of the kingdom and Shershah in order to check the oppression on the cultivators visited the villages and ordered the village headmen not to oppress the cultivators because they are the source of prosperity of the empire.[101] Even when Shershah used go to his *Jagir* before establishing his own empire, he summoned all the officials and cultivators and addressed them that, "the prosperity of the empire depends on the prosperity of the peasants" and he ordered the village officials to protect the peasantry from the harassment and asked the peasants to do whatever is most advantageous to your interest in every possible way which will made the whole empire prosperous.[102] In order to reduce the oppressions on the cultivators, he fixed the payments for

measurements and the tax gathers fees. Even Shershah was of the view that the cultivation depends on humble peasants and if they would be ill treated they will produce nothing but if they would be prosperous, would produce much more. The Shershah even showed leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement and to have a record to the actual produce. But when the time of payment comes he showed no leniency but collect the revenue with all strictness. If the cultivators are evading payment, he chastises them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way. He always said to the peasantry that, "whatever matter you have to represent, bring it to me, and I will promise that no one will oppress you".[103] The headmen of the villages always attend and obey the orders of the Shershah and dare not for one moment to absent themselves from attendance. The fear and dread of Shershah was so deeply rooted in the minds of turbulent people of different parts of his empire that according to the measurement they paid their revenue to the revenue collectors and perform peaceful activities without causing any damage to the activities of peasants.[104]

There was peace and security in the empire from the beginning of Shershah's rule and there was no theft and highway robbery anywhere. If it occurred anywhere near the villages or the highways passing through the villages, the *Muqaddam* of the village was held responsible and arrested and the compensation for robbery was extracted from him. The owners of the stolen goods were fully compensated. Consequently, the *Muqaddam* became cautious. Shershah built *Serais* at every *Kroh* along the highways from Gaur to frontier of the empire in all four directions, so that the travellers passing through different areas might take rest in these *Serais* and felt safe and free from robbers and dacoits of nearby villages.[105] The *Muqaddam* was responsible for any crime of the villages and protection of roads from thieves and highway robbers. If any theft and robbery occurred, the *Amils* and governors arrest the *Muqaddam* of the surrounding villages and were compelled to make it good, but if the *Muqaddam* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts, the *Muqaddam* of the village where the offenders were sheltered were arrested and were compelled to give that lost. If any murder would occur and the murderer were not discovered, the *Amils* were enjoined to seize the *Muqaddam* and imprison them and give them a time period within which to declare the murderer. If they produced the murderer or pointed out where they lived, the *Muqaddam* was released and the murderer was put to death and

if the *Muqaddam* of the village could not find out the murderer and also could not trace out his hideout, the *Muqaddam* was put to death. As it was generally ascertained that theft and robberies could only take place by the help of the headman and if in some cases a theft or robbery does occur within the limits of the village without the cognizance of the *Muqaddam*, he shortly make an enquiry. If *Muqaddam* harbour thieves and robbers unknown to the governors, he was punished or even put to death as a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.[106]

The roads nearby the villages were kept under the supervision of the *Muqaddam* of the neighbouring villages. If any merchant or traveller were robbed of his goods, the *Muqaddam* were responsible for the loss of the goods. During the reign of Shahjahan, a cloth merchant Ambwaji, an inhabitant of Nasik, after purchasing goods from Karinja, halted on his way, at Bhulta, but in the night he was robbed of his goods and three of his brothers were badly injured in the trouble that ensued between them and the robbers. The *Muqaddam* of the village Bhulta *Pargana* were made responsible to make a thorough search and produce lost goods which should be delivered to the owner.[107] During the time of Jahangir a rebel named Sundar, was killed by the Mughals and his body was brought to the neighbouring village to be burnt there which was in the *Jagir* of Khan Azam, the villagers took to flight on seeing the Mughal army marching towards them. The *Muqaddam* of that village who was responsible for any crime, immediately cut off the rebel‘s head and for his own acquittal took it to Khan Azam. The security of the villages was the responsibility of the *Muqaddams* and if there is something going against the Mughals, he was responsible to keep check on them and responsible also to keep villages prosperous and free from any crime and unfortunate happenings.[108]

The security at the village level was left to the locality by the Mughals and it was done by the village headman who was the servant of the village community and maintained by the villages themselves out of the village land or share of the crops and was not considered as officer paid and supervised by the state. Instead of Mughal government undertaking responsibility for peace and security in the villages, it made villages responsible for safety of their own property and that of travellers in the neighbouring roads through their own village headman called as *Muqaddam*. There is no doubt that Mughals appoint their officials for protection and security of the people called as *faujdars*, but his jurisdiction was too large to allow him to supervise all the

villages in that region. Due to such a wide area of *faujdar's* jurisdiction, the village officials without any pay roll of the Mughal government kept the villages free from insecurity and disturbances arised out of the law and order situation. Even after the death of Aurangzeb i.e upto later half of the 18^{th} century, there are number of references in the later works on the Indian history that the office of the *Muqaddam* remained working up to the beginning of Indian freedom struggle and in this post independence era we see that there are large number of peoples belongings to different regions claimed themselves as *Muqaddam* by caste and still they are following this terminology generation to generation.

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Chapter-5

Security of Highways and Trade and Commerce

The history of trade and commerce of the sultanate of Delhi shows that there was a system established and maintained link between two regions through the identification of routes. Since military excursions were a regular feature of the Sultanate period, the routes from one region to other region were made secured. Moreover the regions connected with Delhi were disturbed by some local elements which caused insecurity to the merchants and others. E.g. route from Delhi to Rajputana was disturbed by the *Mewatis* therefore Gayas-ud-din Tughluq and Balban followed military measures to end the *Mewatis* menace.

From Babur's period onwards the highways and roads were well connected with the larger part of Mughal empire. The second Afghan Empire under Shershah and Islam Khan also undertook various steps towards the development of Highways. This chapter concentrates on the security measures taken out by the rulers from Babur onwards. Highways were regularly used by the merchants for the trade and commerce. Moreover, for the movement of army from one area to other area the security of highways were strengthened by the ruling class. By establishing a peaceful and large network of highways throughout the Mughal Empire, it was ensured that the movement of the merchants was to be without any law and order problem on the road.

Security of Highways:

The methods and measures of the security are discussed in the following paragraphs during Mughal period and Shershah's period. Mughals adopted various measures to maintain efficient security on the highways to ensure peaceful movement of merchants and travellers. Before the advent of the Mughal rule in India, the roads were laid out in different parts of empire by earlier rulers which ruled the most of the empire up to 1526 A. D. but with the beginning of Mughal rule from Babur's period onwards, he first established a security of highway by measuring the road between Agra and Kabul. He erected a tower at every *Kuroh,* which was 12 *qaris* high with a *char-dara* on the top and at every *Kuroh,* six post horses were fastened and made arrangements for the payment of post masters and grooms and for horse corn. Babur in order to secure himself from the attacks of northwest frontier areas and also to keep

in contact with the news of Kabul, established these posts and also for the travellers who would like to travel through this highway felt secure and would might take rest on his way in these towers which were also established as a rest houses with regular supply of fodder for horses. For this, Babur issued an order that these towers or rest houses would be near a crown lands or if there was no crown land nearby, the expenditure would be charged on the *Parganas* in which the post houses or towers came under.[1] After Babur, Hamayun (1530-1540) and (1555-1556) had insufficient opportunity to proof himself as an efficient ruler and before his re-establishment into India. It was during 1532, when Hamayun left Agra with extremely formidable armament to seize the fort of Chunar and after a blockade of four months it was evident that fortress must eventually fall, but as the emperor's ill luck bad news was coming from the side of Gujarat and he became alarmed at the progress of Bhadur Shah of Gujarat and left the task of besieging the fort of Chunar. It was only hope for Hamayun, as he left the opportunity of striking Sher Khan (Shershah Sur) to his knees. This was one of the critical movements of Hamayun's reign. He had thrown away a great opportunity with both hands. Had he preserved in the siege and taken Chunar, he would have cut away the very foundation of Sher Khan's rising power and would have undone long years of work carefully prepared. It is not too much to say that if Chunar had been captured, the Mughals would never have been expelled from India.[2]

Sher Khan after coming to power by defeating Mughal emperor Hamayun established himself by the title of Shershah. Shershah and his successors (1540-56) of Sur dynasty organized their administrative setup in India under the banner of second Afghan Empire. Shershah did not extend his empire so much but he secured the frontiers of his empire especially the areas of Peshawar valley and Punjab. Shershah also built a fort at Rohtas on the highway to Khurasan to keep a check on the Kashmir and the areas of *Ghakhars,* near the hills of Balanath Jogi, which was four *kos* from river Jhelum and about 60 *Kos* from Lahore. He fortified and strengthened this fort.[3] Shershah appointed Haibat Khan Niyazi, whom the title of Azam Hamayun had been granted with a charge of other two great nobles, Masnad-i-Ali Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niyazi with a force of 30,000 horse men and sufficient treasure in the neighborhood of fort of Rohtas to keep a check on the country of Kashmir and *Ghakhars.*[4] Shershah also establish a post in the fort of Ghakhar, as they were very

turbulent peoples and did not restitute from highway robberies and harassment of travellers. Shershah from the beginning of his rule was very much concerned with the peace and security of the empire. For the peaceful atmosphere, Shershah establish efficient administrative machinery throughout his empire. Roads and Highways which were very essential for the control of whole administrative setup, Shershah first constructed a road from Gaur to Indus River (i.e from Sonargaon to Attock) and *Serais* were constructed and gardens were laid out along the road. Another road, with gardens and *Sarais* were constructed from *Rohtas* to the frontier of Mandu near Burhanpur. The third road was constructed from Agra to Jodhpur and another road from Jaunpur to Bayana and Ajmer. A number of *Sarais* were constructed along the road side for the travellers and merchants, which numbered up to 1700. These *Sarais* were mainly constructed by Shershah as rest houses for travellers and merchants and to keep them safe from the highway robbers and dacoits at night. Shershah kept two horses ready in every *Sarai* to travel up to three hundred *kos* in a day to carry information and news to the capital.[5]

Shershah formulated certain laws both from his own ideas and by extracting them from the learned persons for securing relief from tyranny and for the suppression of crimes, for maintaining the prosperity of the empire and the safety of the highways and also the comfort of the merchants and travellers.[6] Highways and roads passing through the villages and areas of Zamindars were held responsible to the village *Muqaddams* and *Zamindars* by the Shershah. He strictly impressed on the officials that if theft and robbery occurred within their limits and perpetrators were not discovered, then they would arrest the *Muqaddams* of the surrounding villages and compel them to pay, if goods were not recovered and offenders were not arrested. Shershah held officials responsible for crimes and robberies. So, there was a peace and security throughout the empire.[7] According to Shershah, “crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity”.[8] Shershah, in order to curb the crime on the highways, established *thanas*, military outposts and *chowkis* for the communication of news. After the conquest of Bengal, Shershah established *thanas* and military outposts of imperial troops and were transferred yearly by him. Shershah through an underground espionage system (*Khufia*-reporter) and regular reports of the provincial news writer that reached the court by the *dak chaukis* and outposts, kept his fingers on the pulse of Bengal wherever he happened to be.[9] In the province of Bengal there was

absence of high military roads that fostered regional antipathies and incentives to rebellion in the medieval period. Roads which were made during campaign were hardly renovated for in peace time and during floods. The roads which were possible to travel were hardly used by travellers for the fear of robbers and thieves. Shershah could not tolerate such a state of things in Bengal, so he constructed a grand highway from Sonargaon to Attock, the biggest highway also called as *Sark-i-Azam* (Grand Trunk Road), which also occupied a strategically important position.[10] After establishing and connecting the province of Bengal with capital Delhi by constructing the grand highway, the physical and political isolation of Bengal was broken and uniform system of administration was carried out. Due to this constructive work, security was established on the highways to Delhi and trade of Bengal was flourished by providing efficient security to the movement of goods through the province. Even the rulers of earlier period did not become so much successful in establishing a safety and protection of the people of these regions. Bengal which was notorious for the piratical propensity of the people inhabiting the banks of *Padma* and *Brahmputra* and the river dacoits were very much extensive due to the large and extensive volume and area occupied by the river bodies and their tributaries. Shershah did a very effective job to curb these dacoits and menace caused by them. He built a strong flotilla of war-boats to cruise the rivers and also established *thanas* and military check posts in strategic outposts of the dacoit infested areas.[11]

Shershah after establishing a large network of roads followed a policy of maintenance of law and order on these roads which passed through a varied topography. Shershah built a number of *Sarais* along the highways and on all the frontier routes with all basic facilities for the travellers. He posted a *Shiqdars* incharge of *Sarais* and was allotted lands at the same place for the maintenance.[12] Shershah also built forts and *thanas* along the strategic roads and highways to keep them secure from robbers, thieves and rebels. He built a large number of forts and kept large number of soldiers in these forts to guard the travellers, merchants and also areas lying nearby. According to *Waqiat-i-Mushatqui*, "Shershah had twenty-five thousand (25000) footmen and *Toofangdars* (matchlockmen) under his command. He stationed 7000 *Toofangdars* in the fort of Mandu, 3000 *Toofangdars* at Chittor, 10600 were in the fort of Bayana, 1000 *Toofangdars* in the fort of Gwalior and 2000 footmen adept in the archery in the old Rohtas fort of Bihar".[13] Similarly, there was a garrison

(consisting of *sawars* and footmen) stationed in every fort.[14] Shershah also stationed his one army in the hilly regions extended over the northwest of Punjab as upper country called *Mulk-i-Bala* by *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui* and also one army at Rohtas, one at *Mulk-i-Malwa*, one in the fort of Chittor, one in Khajurao, one in the *villayat* of Handia,[15] one in Nagaur and one at Jodhpur.[16] Shershah established a high level of security on highways by establishing these forts and keeping army and foot soldiers ready for any problem of insecurity and rebellion which hindered the travelling and safety of merchants and travellers. Shershah left no fort without an army and a commander to check the menace on the highways. Even when Shershah himself led a military expedition against the enemies, he strictly followed the rules while passing through the highways which were nearby the cultivated lands. He was very much concerned with the prosperity of peasants along the routes of his march and could not tolerate any injury to the peasants and their fields. As Abbas Khan Sarwani *(Tarikh-i-Shershahi)* has mentioned that, "he had heard from Khan-i-Azam Muzaffar Khan, who said that he often accompanied Shershah, who used to look left and right on the highways and if he saw any army man devastating a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hand".[17] According to *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui,* "when Shershah was on military expedition against the region of Malwa, on the way along the route, he saw a camel driver from a distance with a green branch of gram plant in his hand and chewing its green grains. Shershah rode swiftly to him and said as he had already issued the order that nobody would touch the fields or grains of peasants, why would you have done it, as you had not obeyed his orders. Shershah ordered him to be brought down from camel and ears were pierced into and he was strung from the neck of the camel with his feet bound. He was also paraded through the army camp, so that nobody would dare to trespass in any field which is under cultivation."[18] If from the narrowness of the road any cultivation was destroyed, he sends his *Amirs* and surveyors to measure the cultivated so destroyed and gave them compensation in money to the cultivators.[19] These steps taken by Shershah towards the peasants while on his march or any military expedition, was very much seriously concerned by him. He was of the view that the highways passing through the areas of peasantry to be protected in order to keep a sense of security among the peasants. If there would be no security of peasants during any expedition or military campaign, the peasants would abandon the cultivation and there would be shortage of grains and fodder on the highways which would led them to halt at a place for number of days and would

increase the death of animals and sometimes a large number of army persons. So safety and security of highways was very much important during any military campaign and also for the travellers passing through these roads.

Abbas Khan Sarwani speaks very high of the security measures of Sher Shah. According to him, “Sher Shaha’s authority whether he was absent or present, was completely established over the race of Afghans. There was nobody who dared to act in opposition or against his regulations.”[20] During the time of Shershah travellers and wayfarers were relieved from the trouble of keeping a watch over the goods throughout the night on the highways. There was also no fear to halt even in the midst of desert and even travellers and merchants could encamp at night at every place, desert or inhabited. They even placed their goods and property on the plain and turned out their mules to graze and themselves slept with minds at ease and free from any care. This statement given by Abbas Khan Sarwani cleared a point that there was a peace and security on the highways during the rule of Shershah. Even he has further mentioned that in the cities or towns the roads were also free from robbers and thieves. If an old woman full of jewellery in her basket was walking through the road at night, no thief or anybody dared to come near her. As Shershah inflict a hard punishment for these acts and due to which everywhere there was a safety and security on the roads and highways, fully realized by travellers. During this time Shershah put a stop on the quarrels, fights, disputes and turmoil throughout the territory of *‘Roh’* and Hindustan. In a very short period of time, he gained the control of the vast area of the empire and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of government and the happiness of people and army.[21]

After Shershah, Islam shah tried to be like his father by keeping Shershah’s administrative structure intact. Islam shah also built additional *Sarais* at every half *Kos* between the *Sarais* of Shershah and stationed at each of them two horses and some footmen to bring news everyday from Bengal. Alms were given at each *Sarai* and poor travellers were supplied with every convenience. No distinction was made between the Hindus and the Muslims in this respect. Regulations were issued for guiding civil, military and ecclesiastical affairs which were settled in accordance with them. The discussion which was made according to the regulations was strictly enforced whether it was in conformity with the religious law or not.[22] Islam Shah also constructed a large number of forts regarding the strong defence of his empire. He

added a second line of defence to that of Shershah. As Shershah had built the fort of Rohtas to defend the upper Indus frontier, Islam Shah buttressed it strongly by constructing on the hills a chain of five fortresses i.e. Shergarh, Islamgarh, Rashidgarh, Firozgarh and Mankot. They were collectively known as fortress of Mankot. This link of fortification was effectively used by the Afghans when Hamayun came to re-conquer his lost empire. The fort of Mankot was constructed on the extremity of Shiwalik Mountains to keep *Gakkhars* and the hill *Rajas* in check and it was very much strong fort.[23] Even Islam shah apparently designed to transfer the capital of Punjab to this strong fort. Islam shah's fort at Gwalior was also very much capable of defending the enemy. When Islam Shah went to Gwalior, he resides in a Gwalior fort, as this fort seemed to give him a feeling of security which he lacked in the ordinary residence of the rulers of Hindustan.[24] Islam Shah also maintained peaceful atmosphere throughout his empire by keeping the laws and regulations of Shershah in continuance. But after Islam Shah's death, the Afghan Empire soon broke down and disorder ensued.[25] The Mughal Emperor Hamayun immediately entered Hindustan and regained his lost territories and established his Mughal Empire.

From Akbar's period onwards, all the Mughal emperors established a well centralized administration through Mughal and non-Mughal officials and established peace and security through their effective administrative system. According to Muhammad Arif Qandhari, "in consequence of the peace and security established throughout the empire, the country enjoyed a peaceful life, free from fear and anxietyand the protection of king was even available to the weakest person".[26] The Mughals also established a well defined network of highways and Akbar first took great steps towards the development and maintenance of highways and local roads on the pattern of Shershah Sur and that is why Shershah is also called the forerunner of Akbar. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "the welfare of the provinces was dependent upon the just administration of provincial viceroy called *Sipahsalar* and he never laid aside the consideration of people's prosperity and their well being".[27] For the safety of roads and highways, the Mughals entrusted it to the zealous upright men by establishment of trusty guards and from time to time receive reports from them.[28] Akbar was very much concerned with the security of highways and roads. He made certain officials responsible for the security of highways, so that merchants could not suffer from the menace of thieves and robbers. He made journey of travellers easy and

comfortable by providing and benefitting them with all necessities such as supply of water and greenery of plants on the road side which provide shade to the travellers on the highways.[29] He kept officials like *Amalguzar* or collector of revenue also responsible for punishing the highway robbers, murderers and evil doers in their respective areas.[30] The roads and highways passing through the towns and cities were held responsible under the *Kotwal* or chief police officer. He was responsible to manage the roads that no one would lose his way and who was fugitive would not be able to get out of reach.[31] Abdul Qadir Badaoni has also mentioned that in the time of Akbar, the road police was very strict and keep check on the travellers on the roads. When he (Abdul Qadir Badaoni) was travelling to visit the Sheikh Nizamuddin of Ambethi, on the road to Ambethi, the road police had arrested a man dressed as a beggar on the charge of theft and highway robbery and had seized him by his clothes.[32] The roads were kept safe and free from highway robbery, so that people could travel without problem. To make travel hassle free and comfortable, Akbar laid the foundation of *Sarais* as rest houses in various quarters of the capital and made responsible to the caring and generous person so that the poor and needy might take rest.[33] Even for the royal travellers security was maintained throughout their journey. During royal ladies visit to holy places and Sufi shrines, efficient security of court were sent along with them and orders were also given that the great *Amirs*, the officers of every territory, the guardian of the passes, the watchmen of the borders, the river police and harbour masters should perform good services for the travellers.[34]

According to Muhammad Arif Qandhari (*Tarikh-i-Akbari*), "Akbar was gifted with reason and faculty of showing the way. For the comfort and security of travellers, Akbar issued an order for the development of highways. He built *minars* (towers) from the capital Agra to Ajmer, a distance of one hundred and forty *Akbari Karohs* (*Kos*) and at a distance of every *Kos*, grand rest houses were built. On the roads at every *karoh*, *minars* (towers) were fixed with the horns of dear or stag all round. There were three or four hundred of these horns round these *minars*. These horns were fixed on the *minars* for the travellers, so that they might not lose their way and these *minars* would guide them on the highways throughout their journey".[35]Akbar in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom and for the peace of subjects, made imperial territories crown lands.[36] He issued an order regarding veneration for God and attention to the government regulations that all the

government servants, nobles and other officials are to be observed the commands in administering the affairs of cities, villages and towns and other places. He issued an order to his officials that the care of the high roads is their responsibility and also held them responsible for any crime committed on these highways. They were ordered to keep watch on these highways, so that there would not be any obstacles to the travellers and communication between the different parts of empire.[37] Akbar also issued an order to establish peace and security on the Kabul, Qandhar and Gaznin roads for the security of travellers and merchants.[38] The tribes of Afghan inhabited between Kabul and the Indus molested travellers stretched out the hand of oppression over them due to their ignorance and selfishness. In order to resolve the situation of insecurity and law and order, established *Sarais* and *thanas* in these dangerous places and attached some brave men in each of the *thanas* to protect the travellers from the harassment. Due to this important step, travelling to Kabul and Gaznin roads became peaceful and free from molesting.[39] Akbar in order to keep check on a particular caste of people called '*Mawis'*, who were notorious for highway robbery and theft, were introduced into infantry. As former rulers were not able to keep check on them to honesty, but Akbar became successful in his attempt so much that they became so famous for their trustworthiness. They became so vigilant to perform their duties and guard the environs of the palace. Their chief received the title of *'Khidmat Rai'* and being near the person of His Majesty Akbar, he started living in affluence. They became so dedicated towards their duties that they were started to be called '*Khidmatyas'*.[40] The disturbances and insecurity carried out on the highways by some *Rajputs* and *Kolis* were also put down by Akbar by establishing and keeping regular reinforcements. The *Rajputs* and *kolis* are naturally disobedient, addicted to theft, highway robbery and sedition. To keep them under their control and suppress these seditious tribes, Akbar issued an order to the governors to strengthened their areas and highways and passing through their jurisdiction. On account of this, several of the governors both in past and present times, after strengthening the fortification of the province, stationed a sufficient party of soldiers therein and these posts were named as *thanas*. The payment of each *thana* had been fixed by the government and certain land were set aside for that purpose, so that the party of men kept there for security never left the post. Due to which there would be no disturbance and robberies on the highways.[41]

Akbar visited Kashmir three times and always entered by the way of Rajauri. He also built a fort at Naushera (Rajauri) for the garrison to guard the road.[42] Akbar was not only concerned with security of his own men but also of foreigners whether travellers or merchants. When Pietro Tavares, on the request of Akbar visited his court, was received with favour and protection of Akbar. Before his departure, he was dignified with honors and gifts. As Akbar had promised him that there would be no fear in coming to the capital as he would take them under his own protection and guarantee.[43] According to Muhammad Arif Qandhari, "Akbar was a man of perfect wisdom and always instructed the princes and *Rajas* of Hindustan. He also made *Rajput* chiefs or *Rajas* of non-Mughal territories responsible for the safety of roads and highways. Mughals kept them under their control through friendly relations and they also attend the Mughal court and maintained peace and security on the roads and highways passing through their territories".[44] We have already discuss the relation of *Rajput Zamindars* or *Rajas* relations with the Mughals in earlier chapter, who performed their duties towards the security of roads and highways efficiently as the tributary state of the Mughal Empire. As in the province of Gujarat Rai Ram and Rai Singh were entrusted with the responsibility of protecting and guarding the roads. A rebel Ibrahim Husain Mirza when went to Gujarat plundered a *caravan* which was going to Agra and when he arrived within 20 *Kosses* of Narnaul, Rai Ram and Rai Singh who had been guarding the road to Gujarat, marched against him with 1000 horsemen to curb the rebel Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who started plunder and loot on the highways in Gujarat.[45] Akbar was very much concerned with the happiness of the people and he undertook this responsibility by establishing law and order, security of his domain. According to Arif Qandhari, "it is revered that the habit of unfaithfulness be weakened by good treatment and the movements of hostility and rebellious might be brought to an end and by means of imitation or homage, as Akbar had did and in any circumstance the responsibility of the safety of life and prosperity of the people was the primary function and attribute of the administration and the duty of protecting the ambitions of the people was the function and responsibility of the emperor". [46] Akbar issued orders and also advised his own family members regarding the welfare of his subjects, security of highways and roads as their most important responsibility. Akbar advised Sultan Murad before taking the charge of the province of Malwa that, "they must make an effort to provide for the safety of roads and obedience of the refractory and thieves and the robbers must be put down. He also advised him that the

attention to be paid to the internal improvement".[47] He also advised him to him that, "appoint brave men for the passes, so that there would be proper check on the highway robbers and dacoits. He should not neglect the security of roads and highways and also suggested that in prosperity remember hard times and prepare remedies in advance for everything, so that there would be no insecurity and law and order problem in the empire".[48] Due to the strong hand of oppression on the highway plunderers, robbers and dacoits by the Mughals under Akbar, the sufferings of people on the highways were reduced and travel became easy and comfortable. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "the Hindustan became the centre of security and peace and the land of justice and beneficence. A large number of people especially learned men and lawyers immigrated and choose this country as their home land".[49]

Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir (1605-1627) projected himself as an emperor believing in the justice, welfare and security of his empire, fastened the "*Zanjeer-i-Adl"* i.e. "*Golden Chain of Justice"*, so that, "if those engaged in administration of justice, delay or practice insincerity in the matter those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it, so that its noise might attract the attention". Jahangir was very much concerned with the welfare of his subjects and if anyone who is oppressed and did not received a justice by the Mughal officers, could approach to him (Jahangir) by shaking the golden chain or bells of justice.[50] Jahangir also introduced twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct *(Dastur-ul-Amals)* in all his empire and among those ordinances, there were several orders for the security of the highways and for the travellers throughout the Mughal Empire. He issued an order that, "on the roads, where theft and robberies took place, the *Jagirdars* of the neighborhood should built *Sarais* (public rest houses), Mosques, dig wells, nearby the roads which might be a little distance from habitations, so that it might stimulate population and people might settle down near those areas. If these were near a *Khalisa* estate (under direct management) the administrator (*Mutasaddi*) of that place should execute the work".[51] Jahangir placed responsibility also on the Zamindars for the security of the roads and highways. When Jahangir was travelling to Kashmir, on the way through Bharamgalla, there were two *Zamindars* on the road who were responsible for the security and safety of travellers on this highway and Jahangir had written that they were the keys of the country of Kashmir. They were Mahdi Nayak and Hussain Nayak and the charge of the highway from Hirapur to Bharamgalla was

in their hands.[52] Jahangir on his way to Kashmir regarded the people of Rajauri as barbarous in their habits, so he entrusted the care of main road to the *Raja* and ordered him to built *Chaukis* and post guards along the road to Kashmir. At Naushera, where already a stone fort was built by Akbar and also a *thana* with a body of men from the governor of Kashmir was established. Jahangir placed Inayatullah Khan as incharge of the fort at Naushera to keep the highway free from robbers and insecurity, so that the travellers to Kashmir would not face any problems during their journey.[53] Jahangir was very much concerned with the safety of the travellers, for which he made certain ordinances which we have already mentioned. But the roads and highways passing through certain villages, the travellers were robbed and plundered by the villagers. Jahangir has mentioned that in a village of Amrohi and its neighborhood, there were seven thousand and eight thousand households of *Khaturs* and *Dalazaks* and all kinds of mischief, oppression and highway robbery take place through this tribe. Jahangir ordered that the government of this region and Attock to be given to Zafar Khan son of Zain Khan Koka and before the royal return from the Kabul, they should march against all the *Dalazaks* and bring them to Lahore. By this order the headman of *Khaturs* were captured and were kept in prison.[54] Jahangir when visited Mathura by boat for hunting, he was reported that the villagers and cultivators on the other side of the river Jumna (Yamuna) had not had not given up stealing and highway robbery and passed their time in the shelter of the jungles. They also did not payed their rent to their *Jagirdars*. So Jahangir ordered to *Khan-i-Jahan* to take action against them and gave them exemplary punishments, razed to the ground their strong holds and forts. The *khan Jahan* made a hot attack on them and many of them were slaughtered and imprisoned.[55]

At many places, the road and highways during the period of Jahangir were not regarded safe and free from highway robbers. Even he issued certain regulations regarding the safety of roads. According to Francisco Pelsaert, "Jahangir was recognized as the king of plains or the open roads only. But in many places or highways one can travel only with a small body of men or on the payment of heavy tolls to rebels". [56] The travellers who brought with them large number of things and carried with through their journey required a security and hired guards to protect them from highway robbers and thieves. According to Captain Hawkins, "when he reached Surat in 1608 with a letter of James-I to Jahangir and his personal things and baggage,

he hired an escort of highways guards to protect himself from robbers and to found his way to Agra free from any trouble and highway dacoits".[57] The roads and highways which passed through the towns or villages were however considered safe for travellers and merchants. But those roads which were far away from villages or populated places were not considered so much safe for travelling. For the safety and security of the travellers on the highways Mughals built many *Sarais* for the rest and safety from the night robberies. According to John Jourdian, "when he was travelling to Agra, the road was not free from thieves. He has mentioned that when he travelled from Sironj and came to Kachner *sarai*, he stayed there for some time. Similarly after travelling through Kalabagh, he came to Gwalior and then Sipri, of which he mentioned that these places were full of highway thieves and for the safety and security of the travellers, there were many *Sarais* for travellers to lodge in these *Sarais"*. He further mentioned that, "the place where he was travelling was full of highway thieves and there were no villages in these twenty *Koses*. So, large numbers of *Sarais* were built on these highways for the security and shelter of travellers and merchants".[58] Even Edward Terry on his journey from Surat to Mandu in 1617 with presents for Jahangir mentioned that the mountains and forests between Surat and Mandu were infested by robbers. He made here a statement that travelling was not safe on these highways and travellers hired security guards for their journeys to keep their life and property safe from the robbers. Even they hired stout brave men such as *Balochis*, *Pathans* or *Rajputs* as guards. These men were so trusty that they were always ready to die in defence of the property for which they were hired to protect. Terry also mentioned that an English merchant might have travelled alone under such guards from Surat to Lahore with a treasure of gold and jewels and so long as the guard received their wages, no one would touch a penny of it.[59] The highways were also protected by the Mughal officials, but some places which remained unsafe for the travellers was due to the negligence of the Mughal governors and officials at *Pargana* levels.

Shahjahan (1628-1658), carried on the policies of his predecessors for the security of roads and highways. The highways were kept under the vigil person so that there would be no escape of any miscreants on the roads and highways. Shahjahan made security of highways very effective by appointing guards and patrol parties as incharge of keeping highways free from robbers and thieves. These officials

were ordered to check the travellers and their permits of travelling from one place to another. During the reign of Shahjahan, a *dastak* (permit) of 30th April 1642 A.D, was addressed to the guards and patrols incharge of the highways leading from Lahore to the Deccan, contained instructions that the Bekhari Turdi, *Gurzbardar* (Mace-bearer) who had been transferred from Lahore to Deccan on the recommendations of Prince Aurangzeb, should not interfere with him while on his way to Deccan.[60] This *Farman* has made us clear that every person while travelling was properly checked and examined by the road guards. Even *Zamindars* were also granted *mansabs,* so that they would perform the duties of *Jagirdars* in establishing peace and security to inhabitants and also protect the highways passing through their jurisdiction. As on the recommendations of Prince Aurangzeb during the reign of Shahjahan, a *mansab* was granted to Hamid son of Haroon *Zamindar* of Paitha Dholi and he was asked to fulfill the duties of *Jagirdars* of his Paitha and looked after the welfare of the inhabitants and protected the highways.[61]

Aurangzeb (1658-1707) believed in the huge territorial aggrandizement. Consequently he had huge responsibility of maintenance of law and order. Tavernier who travelled the Mughal Empire during the period of Aurangzeb makes no complaints of roads. He has mentioned that the Mughals like the Romans have paid much attention to the roads, for the sake of maintaining the authority in the remote provinces and suppressing insurrections and revolts.[62] Aurangzeb also established watchmen, patrols and guards of the highways for the smooth and safe transition of the travellers and imperial mace bearers. On 2nd January 1671 A. D, a *Dastak* was issued to watchmen and guards of the highways to provide facilities to Gopal Singh mace bearer, who had left Aurangabad for Allahabad, after delivering the imperial *farmans*.[63]

Aurangzeb was very much concerned for the welfare, security and accommodation of travellers. He started numerous free kitchens *(Balghurkhana or Langarkhana)* for feeding the weak and the poor and established in Delhi and other provinces and wherever there was no inn or *Sarai* for the accommodation of the travellers, built number of *Sarais* throughout the empire, where they were not built before.[64] Aurangzeb also ordered that highways must be populated, so that movement would be easy and safe.[65] He was of the view that after establishing villages nearby the roads and highways would reduce the insecurity on the roads and also would

reduce the highway robbery and further there would be no harassment of the travellers on the highways and travellers would take rest nearby the inhabited places comfortably. Mughals maintained highways and kept them safe from robbers and built number of *sarais* for the travellers. Not only this they also appointed certain officials for these *Sarais* to be looked after by them, so that there would be no complaints from the travellers and merchants. Niccolao Manucci while travelling through the Mughal Empire during the period of Aurangzeb has mentioned that, "there were number of *Sarais* on every route for way farers throughout the Mughal Empire. They were like fortified places with strong gates and most of them were built of stone and bricks. In every *Sarai,* there was an official appointed, whose duty was to close the gates after sunset and before he shuts the gates, he called everyone to look after their belonging, picket their horses by their fore and hind legs. So that there would be no non-seriousness regarding the safety in the *Sarais*. At six o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchmen of the *Sarai* gave three warnings to the travellers, crying in loud voice that everyone must checked their own things. After these warnings, if anyone found that his belongings were missing, the doors were not opened until the last thing is found. By this means, they made sure of having the thief and he was hanged opposite the *Sarai*. Thus the thieves, when hear about the complaint is made, he dropped the goods somewhere, so that he might not be discovered or arrested".[66] The security of the travellers on the highways was on the priority of the Mughals. They were of the view that if the roads and highways would be safe, there would not be any insecurity among the people and habitation would increase through the highways which in turn led to the safety of the highways and roads for the travellers. Gamelli Carreri (1693-1699), while travelling in the northern parts of the Mughal Empire has mentioned that, "near Surat and Ahmedabad, travelling was more safe and comfortable".[67] It was due to the Mughals who had built large number of *Sarais* on these highways for the rest of the travellers. Thevenot while travelling between Delhi and Agra, mentioned that the road between these two towns were very pleasant. He has further mentioned that Mughal emperor Jahangir planted large number of trees along the road. He also mentioned that there were number of small towers on the way between these two capital cities and besides these, there were number of *sarais* for the travellers.[68] Niccolao Manucci mentioned that travelling without company in the Mughal territories was not safe because roads and highways were infested with robbers and cunning thieves. He while travelling to Agra

with the company of *Caravan* met with an incident where he was about to be robbed. He mentioned that when these robbers found any person apart from his company, they robbed him.[69] William Finch (1608-1611) while travelling to Surat mentioned that the highway was full of thieves and these thieves travel in a group of sixty to seventy. He also found that there were many castles (police posts) on the highways to protect the travellers and prevent robbers.[70]

Mughals attempted to make safety and security of roads and highways. But it was impossible to some extent because of the vast empire and large number of highways throughout the Mughal Empire. Inspite of Mughal's own responsibility of providing security, the travellers and caravans also took some precautions for the safety and security while travelling through the long distances. The travellers even hired guards to escort their journey safely. The *caravans* also kept themselves armed through hired armed guards not only to protect from highway robbers but also from wild animals which were found on the highways passing through the hilly and forest areas. Captain Hamilton mentioned that *Rajputs* were hired to protect against the bandits. Some of the ports of Gujarat carried a trade and hired these *Rajputs*, who employed their swords like Swiss mercenaries, on the behalf of those who gave them best pay.[71] Thevenot on his way to Surat was advised to hired guards as he had to go by road and there might be a danger of robbers. He further mentioned that he was advised by his friends for his highway security to take techeron (charan i.e escort) with women of his caste or tribe. He said that these peoples are a caste of gentiles (*Rajputs*). They lived most of the time at Baroch, Cambay and Ahmedabad. If anyone hired these, he thinks himself safe. When any robber or thieve come nearer to him, he threatened them that he would cut his throat and the women threatened them that she would cut off one of her breasts with a razor which she threw upon them. It was very misfortune to be cause of the death of charan and the guilty person was an eyesore to the whole tribe and he was turned out of the tribe. Therefore charan minstrel both men and women had killed themselves upon such occasions. But such an incident had not been witnessed for a long time and these had now amalgam with the robbers for the certain sum which the travellers gave them and also they distribute among them. The *Baniyas* (merchant class) hired them but he refused to hire these charan due to a low kind of protection.[72]

The roads and highways passing through the territories of *Rajput Rajas* were not also considered safe as they harassed travellers and merchants. Travernier while travelling through the town of Kalabagh mentioned that formerly a great *Raja* resided in that town and also paid tribute to the great Mughals. Generally when travellers and *Caravans* passed through his territory, the merchants were robbed and they also extracted dues from travellers and merchants. But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, he cut off his head and his large number of his turbulent subjects. A large number of towers were also setup near the town on highway and these towers were pierced all round by several windows where Aurangzeb placed in each one of the head of a man at every two feet.[73] These kinds of punishments were given to the thieves and robbers, so that others would leave this filthy job of harassing travellers and merchants. Aurangzeb was very much concerned with the duties of the *Mutassadis* (superintendents). He issued a letter to Assaduddin Ahmad son of Dilawar Khan to be appointed as the *Mutassadi* and emphasized that honesty was a pre-requisite for him. He was informed that mischievous people loot the travellers on the highway between Chamargonda to Qadirabad and he was asked that it was his duty to check these trouble makers and punish them.[74] Aurangzeb after receiving information about the insecurity on the highways issued orders to the officials responsible for the safety and security of the travellers. He issues an order that if any place is given as *Jagir* (*Mahl*), it is incumbent upon them to receive orders or *farmans* for the management i.e *'band-o-bast'* for that province or *Suba*. They were expected by the Mughal emperors to punish the evil doers and guard the roads and highways and there would be no one to oppress the weak. They were also required by the emperor to protect the travellers by safeguarding the boundaries of all frontiers. It was only to obstruct the path of the thieves and robbers who enter from the outside territories and harass the highway travellers and merchants.[75] Aurangzeb even issued certain orders, *dastaks* to *Qilahdars*, *Thanadars*, *Jagirdars* and patrols of the roads to take strong and effective measures to control and cut off the supply to the enemies. A similar order was issued to the officials of the roads leading to Bijapur, ordering that they should supply grains and horses to the imperial army and to take effective measures to cut off the supply of enemies. Aurangzeb also obtained surety bonds from the officers regarding the safety and security of the highways,[76] So that the officers would be fully responsible for the highways security.

Aurangzeb punished highway robbers very strictly and hanged them on the roads. Even he cut off their heads and hanged them on the trees. Niccolao Manucci while travelling from Agra to Delhi witnessed a number of bodies of thieves hanged from the trees and number of heads pilled on the road side. These peoples were strictly punished for the robberies on the highways.[77] He also mentioned that roads were not direct and sometimes passed through the territories of the *Rajput Rajas* and *Zamindars* who did not permit the travellers to pass through out of fear that they would be Mughals and also these roads were not free from robbers.[78] Gamelli Carreri while travelling through the territories of *Rajas* were searched by the men of *Rajas* and he also witnessed a number of guards on the roads and he was asked that the roads where he was going to travel was infested with robbers and used to stay in the town for the night. While travelling through the Mughal territories he made certain complaints that in Mughal territories there were no provisions and no safety and security from thieves than through the Persia and Turkey. There are no beasts for carriage and no *Sarais* at convenient places. He also made a complaint that Mughals themselves are crafty thieves and robbed the travellers whenever they found an opportunity to rob them.[79] He also made a complaint that the guards on the roads were worse than the thieves.[80] Thevenot further mentioned that while travelling through the province of Balaghat which lies on the south of Khandesh, he found *chaukis* and guards of the highways, who charged money from the travellers. The money which they asked to pay was not their due and harassed the travellers on their ways. He mentioned that they gave to some of the guards and refused others on their way.[81] The highways which were connected to the trading ports were also infested with robbers. Captain Hamilton has mentioned that in the province of Gujarat, there were large number of robbers and pirates. They harassed the travellers and mostly merchants on the roads and highways towards the ports. The Mughals were unable to suppress them from their routine work of creating disturbances on the highways because these thieves and pirates protected themselves by hiding in marshes and inlets of the sea near the ports.[82]

As we have discussed the security and insecurity of highways throughout the territories of Mughals and territories of *Rajput Rajas*, it is well established fact that to counter the highway robbers and thieves Mughals try their best. In the large part of empire highways which were passed through the jurisdiction of the Mughals officials

like *Faujdars*, *Zamindars* etc, and *Muqaddams* who were the headmen of the villages were also responsible for the security of the highways and all these were obliged to pay the compensation to the victims of highway robbery and loss of men and material. Niccolao Manucci has mentioned that *faujdars* who were responsible to supervise the roads and provide safety to merchants and travellers in daylight and they were also obliged to pay compensation for their loss. If the travellers were robbed at night, it was the travellers fault for not taking shelter earlier and he was not compensated by the *faujdar*.[83] The *Sarais* were built by Mughals mostly for travellers and merchants security. Niccalo Manucci while travelling towards Delhi mentioned that the highways were not free from villagers and thieves, who created oppression and plundered the travellers. He mentioned that each night they took shelter in the *Sarais*, where they were able to take rest under security.[84] Manucci also mentioned that the *Sarais* were only for the travellers and soldiers were not permitted to stay in these *Sarais*. These sarais could accommodate 800 to 1000 persons, with their horses, camels, carriages and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls and verandas with trees inside the main court yard and also many provisional shops. There were also facilities of separate rooms for both men and women travellers.[85] Mughals were very much clear about the security about the travellers on the highways. As Shershah who establish and built large number of *Sarais* for the travellers throughout his empire, the Mughals also adopted such a concept to protect the travellers and merchants by keeping highways safe and by establishing *Sarais* on the highways. From the Akbar's period onwards, it became a part of their cultural aspect to built *Sarais* and provides safety and security to travellers and merchants on the highways and we have discuss in this chapter that how Mughal emperors performed their duties in the security of highways and travellers. Aurangzeb after extending his Mughal Empire did not forget to extend the security and protection of the highways. He protected the routes by keeping guards on the roadways. He kept higher officers responsible for the highways. A *Farman* of 16 Dec. 1681 A. D issued to Raja Ram Singh by Aurangzeb that he should protect and guard the route of Khaibar from Jamrud Haft Chah. He was asked to stationed himself at Ali Masjid and guard and protect the route and also looked after the law and order on the main roadways and by virtuous efforts, protects the roads and highways. As a mark of favour and kindness for the services performed, his rank was increased as one thousand and five hundred *sawars* out of the *'bar-awardi' sawars* had been created

“*do aspash* and *shi aspah*”.[86] The services performed by the Mughal officers were exalted and they were promoted and favored very much.

From the Babur’s period onwards, security of highways was very much concerned and all the Mughal emperors took every step to put down the highway robbery and dacoits. Throughout the Mughal period the highways were well secured by establishing responsibility on the officials appointed at different levels of administration. The highways and roads which were passing through the jurisdiction of Mughal officers were their prior responsibility. Even the highways passing through the non-Mughal states or areas of tributary chiefs, the security and safety of travellers and merchants were their responsibility and to place guards on the highways, so that travellers and merchants would not be robbed. Due to the measures taken by the Mughal emperors for the security of the highways, the risk of travelling was lessened and travelling became comfortable. It was only at some places where foreign travellers felt travelling unsafe on the Mughal roads and highways. This was actually due to the long distances and highways passing through dense forest areas where robbers and thieves hide themselves and uninhabited areas where there was no possibility to put down the activities of rebellious persons, who with their large band or groups cover themselves under the cover of difficult terrain and hills. But inspite of these problems which were not so much curbed by the Mughals, a large number of highways were well maintained and well guarded due to which a number of foreign travellers visited Mughal India and spent a lot of time in travelling and performing economic activities throughout the Mughal empire, which we will discuss in this chapter in the next phase.

Security of Trade and Commerce

The trader and commerce during Mughal period became well established through the participation of merchants (both local and foreign), members of royal families and also through the *Banjara* communities. For the promotion of trading activities which also yield some source of revenue to the Mughals, established a large network of roads, highways, *Serais* for lodging of merchants and traders, established guards and *chaukies* on the highways for the security of merchants and trade and commerce. Mughal emperors for the promotion of trade and commerce issued number of *farmans* and regulations towards the safety and security of merchants throughout

the Mughal empire. The regulations issued by Mughal emperors regarding the betterment of merchants and trading activities indicated that they took a special interest in the promotion of trade and commerce. In addition to that many concessions were given to merchants by abolishing a number of taxes and transit duties throughout the Mughal Empire. The concessions on trading activities were mainly based on the perception that it would create an atmosphere of peace and tranquility favorable to the trade and commerce and would also boost the trade with the other areas outside the Mughal territories.

Babur, after establishing his power, issued a *farman* to all his subjects that all the dues and other duties on grains and all illegal imposts on traders were exempted, so that there would be no restriction or insecurity to merchants in coming and going and would be free from interference.[87] When kingdom of Hindustan came under the control of Shershah, he made certain laws and regulated them throughout the empire for securing prosperity of his empire and safety of highways and well being of merchants. He acted strictly on these laws and uprooted the crime and violence which hampered the development of prosperity.[88] Shershah after the construction of Grand Highway (*Sark-i-Azam*) broke out the physical isolation of the remote parts of the empire and integrated them with the capital at Delhi. With the establishment of highways, Shershah took the responsibility of protecting the highways and for the security and prosperity of merchants built a number of *Serais*, which we have already discussed in this chapter. Shershah gave impetus to the trade and commerce by providing security to the movement of goods by simplifying the tariff system and by establishing *thanas* or military check posts in strategic areas.[89] Shershah also directed his governors and *amils* to compel the peoples to treat with the merchants and travellers well in every way and do not harass them. If the merchants would die on his way no one would stretch out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods and they would not open the parcels of goods, as they were un-owned.[90] Shershah for the special care and security on roads for the merchants forbade levying those customs which he had abolished. Throughout his whole empire Shershah only levied customs on merchandise at two places i.e when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Gharri (Sikri-gali) and when it comes from the direction of Khurasan, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom and again a second duty was levied at a place of sale. Shershah enforced the laws so strictly that no one dared to levy other

customs either on the road or at ferries, in any town or village.[91] These measures taken by Shershah were in order to create environment of security and safe conduct for merchants and travellers.

After the period of Shershah, Mughals took a number of steps to flourish trade and commerce throughout the empire. It was sometimes we see that merchants and traders were harassed at sea ports and highways by Mughal officers or by local peoples through highway robberies and dacoits creating situation of insecurity and law and order problem, which badly affected the trade and commerce. The merchants and traders passing through different custom houses and stations were harassed by charging a heavy amount of transit duties. Sir Thomas Roe mentioned that it was the custom of the Mughal Empire that nothing could be passed by the custom house without being searched. When he reached the port of Swally, all his belongings were searched by an officer on the water side. After taking note of those things belonged to him were sealed by them and they were not to be stopped anywhere on the way to his house.[92] Thevenot also mentioned that when he went to the town of Broach, the officers of the custom house asked him at parting, if he had any merchant's goods. When he answered them that he had nothing, they treated him politely and then he left the custom house and crossed the river.[93] The officers at custom houses did not miss the opportunity of charging the merchants. Edward Carreri mentioned that the officers of the custom houses were worse than the thieves.[94] The Mughal officers also put pressure on the merchants to fulfill their demands by harassing and torturing them heavily. Banarsi Das has mentioned in his autobiography (*Ardhakathanka*) that, "Mughal governors harassed the merchants and businessmen and demanded part of their wealth which they did not asked directly to them". He has further mentioned that, "his father was also imprisoned by the governor of Jaunpur along with other traders and businessmen of the town, who were whipped and tortured till they become half dead. He mentioned that the governors were demanding 'something', which the traders were not in position to provide. The governor withdraws the persecution as abruptly and irrationally as he had begun it and the traders were freed from imprisonment. But the traders were so terrified that they made haste to escape from Jaunpur".[95] He has further mentioned another incident that the governor of city Qilij Khan of Jaunpur brought his terrible wrath to bear upon every single jeweler and dealer in precious stones who lived there. He chained them like pack of thieves and

after a heavy torture allowed them to go free. These terrified jewelers left the city with their families and belongings. Even a single man took to flight, each in a different direction.[96] The cruelty and harassment of traders and merchants by the Mughal officials led to their migration from one city to another and hampered their trading activities. The insecurity to merchants made them to shift from one place to another with their business and that costs very much upon the Mughal Empire. J. N. sarkar has also mentioned about the harassment by local governors which had created difficulties in trading operations, like Safi Khan, governor of Orissa, created a difficulties in the country adjoining Balasore. In 1673, the exactions and harassment by local Mughal governors continued to hinder trading activities.[97] During the period of Aurangzeb the *Banias* or merchants of Surat held a protest against the social policy of the Mughal state. In a Surat letter of 26 Nov. 1669 mentioned by J. N. Sarkar in his work (*Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India)* that Qazi of Surat prompted by Aurangzeb's orders initiated a policy of persecution, which scared all the Hindu traders and they went to Bombay to seek refuge. This led to the confusion and all the trading activities stand still. The violent action made the *Banias* to realize their danger and they left the town. But by the 20th Dec. 1669, the *Banias* returned to the Surat after getting letters of favor from the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and some assurance of their safety and more freedom in their religion.[98] The inland transit duties which constituted a traditional source of revenue were abolished by the Mughal emperors. The Mughal emperors Akbar after accession to the throne realized that the transit duties and other cesses which led to the insecurity among the merchants and traders were abolished. Arif Qandhari has mentioned that, "the Mughal emperor Hamayun realized that the merchants and travellers were feeling helpless and miserable on account of *Tamgha* Tax and other demands on their coming out going from the country. As emperor Hamayun who had already promised to abolished all the unlawful taxes after his return, were done away by Akbar". Arif Qandhari further mentioned that, "with this great step taken by Akbar created an atmosphere of peace, happiness and prosperity for the merchants and traders who came to the Hindustan without suffering any harm or danger on the way. As the orders were passed in the cities, *Parganas, qasbats* and *vilayats* that '*tamgha'*, '*Jihat'*, '*rahadari'*, '*salamana'*, '*Peshkash'* and '*sarana'* would not be realized and no one on any excuse would be troubled and put under arrest".[99] In 1590-1591, Akbar issued an order abolishing the transit duties on some of the articles of commerce throughout his empire. Akbar was of the view that the tax

which was collected from the merchants on the articles, was the source of revenue for keeping troops and guardians appointed for the protection of state property and of the individuals, was not justly collected and had become a source of confusion and insecurity for the merchants and their business. So Akbar issued an order to abolish such duties, tolls, or taxes, so that powerful my not oppress the weak and issued orders to all the administrators of government lands, custom house officers, keepers of highways and passes and other government authorities to attend to this order and use their utmost efforts to obey it without any attempt to evade the laws.[100] Similar orders were also passed by Jahangir and Aurangzeb regarding the protection and security of merchants and traders throughout the Mughal Empire. Jahangir after his accession to the throne first issued twelve orders as '*Dastur-ul-Amals'*, in all his dominion in which the first order was for the forbidding the levy of cesses under the name of '*tamgha'* and '*mir bahri*' (river tolls) and other burdens which were imposed on merchants and traders also. He also issued an order that, "the bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing the merchants or obtaining their leave".[101] As the income of the custom duties and transit dues were very much during the period of Jahangir. But he realized that the income from these sources were a source of harassment for merchants who came from non-Mughal territories and foreign lands. So, he remitted custom duties amounting to crores of rupees and abolished all the transit dues (*sar-i-Jihat*). From the Kabul which was one of the noted towns on the way to Hindustan brought one crore and twenty three lakh *dams* as the transit dues, were also remitted which greatly benefited the people of Iran and Turan, who came to Mughal India for carrying trading activities and seeking fortunes.[102] The encouragement and security to foreign trade and commerce led to the regular flow of merchandise towards Mughal Empire. Merchants started coming from Persia and brought pomegranates of Yazad and melons of Kariz, which were the best Khurasan melons and these merchandise also reached the Mughal court from the frontier regions. It was only possible due to the atmosphere of security throughout the highways by posting guards and by abolishing of transit dues by the Mughals for the welfare of the merchants and traders.[103] Even Aurangzeb also took some steps to promote trade and commerce and also provided some relief to the merchants from insecurity and harassment by Mughal and non Mughal officials. Saqi Must'ad Khan has mentioned that among many favors towards the public, Aurangzeb abolished the taxes on the grains and other foodstuffs, the charge on the road patrols ('*rahdari*'), the

excise duties on cloth and other articles subject to the '*Sair'*(octroi), especially the duty on tobacco which yielded a vast revenue to the excise officers, who used to practice astonishing outrages on the modesty of women by searching under the suspicion of its being smuggled. Aurangzeb also issued certain *farmans* and sent them to every *Subah* ordering that the taxes (*hasilat*) should be collected only in accordance with the rules of Holy *Quranic* law.[104] Aurangzeb was very much concerned towards the trade and commerce and praised the skillful peoples who excelled in their fields. Aurangzeb always appreciated the province of Gujarat that "it is the best province of Hindustan and is the beauty of Hindustan. The place is full of traders and artisans (*ahl-i-kasab-o-hunar*) and also the peoples of Gujarat were good tradesmen and artisans and in that province are located *Shahi-Karkhanas*".[105] Aurangzeb was also very much concerned with the prosperity of merchants. When he came to know that Abdur Rahim was harassing the traders of Gujarat, he issued a '*Shuqqa'* containing orders for the protection of merchants and travellers and another about the abolition of '*rahdari* tax'. Aurangzab considered '*rahdari'* not a road tax but '*rahzani'* a sort of plunder.[106] So Aurangzeb abolished the collection of road toll (*rahdari*) on the transit of grains and articles forever.[107]

Jahangir has also mentioned that in the name of customs (*tamgha*), the merchants and traders were harassed. As in the time of Sultan of Gujarat, the customs of the port at Cambay came to a large sum. So, he ordered that not to take more than one in forty and in other ports, calling it a '*tithe'* was collected one in ten or one in eight were abolished, as it gave all kinds of trouble to the merchants and travellers.[108] Jahangir favors towards the merchant community were very much appreciated by the merchants and traders. When he went to Gujarat and encamped on the shore of sea, the merchants, traders, indigent people and other inhabitants of the port of Cambay were summoned before him and he gave them each according to their condition a dress of honor or a horse or travelling money or assistance in living.[109] The policies of Akbar towards the merchants and traders were also very much appreciated by them. Muhammad Arif Qandhari has mentioned that, "due to the policies of Akbar, the foreign merchants extolled the virtues, expounded the goodness related to various kindness and gave thanks for many favors of high dignity and sweet language. Even due to this great hospitality, the merchants from foreign countries had started coming to Hindustan since the beginning of his rule and they engaged themselves in buying

and selling freely and those who brought valuable goods were free from any fear and then safely returned their respective homelands".[110] It was due to the policies laid down by the Mughals for the security and stability of trade and commerce. The Mughal emperors showed very much respect to the traders and merchants and took care of their welfare and their security. Jahangir mentioned in his account that in the time of his father (Akbar), Kalyan Singh was the superintendent of port Cambay and by Akbar's order built a wall of brick and cement round the city and he also built a fine houses for them. Many merchants from various quarters settled there, and they employed themselves in large numbers in gaining their livelihood under easy circumstances.[111] When Akbar visited port of Cambay in Gujarat after its conquest, the merchants of Rum, Syria, Persia and Turan regarded the advent of the *Shahinshah* Akbar as a great boon and paid their respect.[112] Mughals also maintained their trading activities with foreigners like Portuguese, Dutch and English merchants. They were also given concessions in trading activities. But sometimes due to the irregular activities of foreigners created a suspicion in the minds of Mughals and they put some pressure on their trading activities. As during the reign of Aurangzeb, a ship of Mughals was destroyed by the *Firangi* pirates and for this incident, Aurangzeb ordered that these *Firangis* to be ousted from the churches and their churches to be demolished. As the European merchants had secured a '*Sanad'* from the Mughal court for 100% exemption from the custom duties, Aurangzeb ordered that not a single dam to be left with them and the tax be realized fully.[113] Tavernier has also mentioned that Mughals were suspicious of them. As in the whole of Surat, there were only nine or ten well built houses and the *Shahbandar* or chief of the merchant's owned two or three of them and others belonged to Muslim merchants. The English and Dutch hired the houses as the Mughals does not permit any Frank to possess a house of his own, fearing that they would convert the houses into fortresses.[114] It was only at some places where Mughals kept restrictions on the English merchants due to the insecurity and law and order problems created by the English. Otherwise, Mughal emperors whenever and wherever in their own territories found opportunities to increase trade relations and activities, promoted them by exempting duties and providing security and guards throughout their journey.

The security and protection of merchants and travellers were well maintained by the Mughals. It was only sometimes due to the lapse of security by some officials

or rebels in their territories. The Mughals even through their letters to the English kings assured them that their trading factors in Mughal India would be protected and there would be no insecurity realized by the English merchants. A letter of Mughal emperor Jahangir to King James-I written on 20th Feb. 1670 at Ahmedabad in answer of the letter to the King James-I in which Jahangir narrated a long account about their friendship and made assurance to the King James-I request that, "in his territories, he would receive all the merchants of English nations as the subject of his friends and what place so ever they choose to live they might have reception and residence to their own content and safety and what goods so ever they desired to sell or buy, they had a free liberty without any restriction and what port they would arrive , no Portugese or any other should dare to molest them. Jahangir also assured him that he had commanded all his governors and other officers to give them freedom to sell, buy and to transport into their country at their pleasure".[115]

It was during the rebellions by Mughal officials or sometimes Mughal princes that trade and commerce hampered and travelling of merchants become unsafe and insecure. During the period of Jahangir, one of the *Afridi Afghan* named Qadam, had been loyal and obedient and to whom the '*rahdari'* (Transit dues) of the Khybar pass belonged, had rebelled and had also sent his force against each of the posts (*Thanas*) and had plundered and killed many innocent peoples, due to which a disturbance and insecurity had aroused in Kabul.[116] Jahangir also mentioned in his account that when Khusrau was in rebellion, his men passing through different routes plundered horses and goods of merchants and also practiced oppression on the peoples on highways.[117] Under these circumstances trade and commerce halted for sometime but remained continued in other parts of Mughal Empire. During the Mughal period, the *Rajas* or tributary chiefs were also held responsible for the security of trade and commerce which passed through their territories. Tavernier has mentioned that a great Raja of Kalabag on the Deccan road about 100 miles south of Gwalior paid tribute to the Mughals. But when the *caravans* and merchants passed through his territory, they were robbed and excessive dues were charged on them. It was when Aurangzeb came to the throne, he cut off his head and other turbulent subjects of the *Rajas*.[118] Thevenot has mentioned that on the east of Multan there were high mountains, inhabited by a number of *Rajas*. Some of these *Rajas* are tributary to Mughals and some them are turbulent and were not forced by the Mughals because they had strong

places for their retreat and were very difficult to counter them. Thevenot mentioned that the merchants suffered much by their robberies and when they travelled or passed through their territories, they were obliged to hire a guard of soldiers to defend the *caravans* from these robbers.[119] Thevenot has also mentioned that there were some *Rajas* who were very loyal to Mughals and provide security to merchants. If any *caravan* passed through his territory, he took the responsibility of defending the *caravans*. When any merchandise passed through his territory, he charged toll and held himself responsible for paying restitution if merchants were robbed of their goods. He also treats whole *caravan* politely and sent provisions to their camps. When caravan was ready to go further, the *Raja* sent his own men for their security, until they crossed over his territory. The territory of such a *Raja* includes all the villages from Cambay to Broach and all his subjects were called *Grasias*.[120] The merchants and traders also suffered and felt insecure at the time of the death of any Mughal emperor. As Banarsidas has mentioned in his work that, "when Mughal emperor Akbar breathed his last in Agra, the alarming news of his death spread so fast and soon reached Jaunpur. The merchants and traders and other peoples felt insecure and full of terror. Every one closed the doors of their houses in panic, the shopkeepers shut down their business and the jewelers and rich persons hide their wealth underground and rushed to the safe and secluded places with weapons and arms". He further mentioned that, "the rich persons concealed their status by wearing thick and rough clothes as worn by the poor peoples. It was all due to the insecurity that prevailed when there was no head of the Mughal Empire in India and when the news was received after ten days from Agra that Prince Salem ascended the throne, the situation turned normal and brought great relief and security to the peoples and merchant classes".[121]

During the Mughal period, the long distance trade and commerce was carried through bullock carts, camels and pack oxen by a group of peoples of a particular caste called as the *Banjaras*. These *banjaras* with their goods passed through different roads and highways and spent their nights on the highways where *Sarais* and store houses were available to keep their goods safe from the highway robbers and dacoits.[122] These *banjaras* travelled in a *qafilas* or *caravans* through the roads and highways carrying articles of higher value.[123] They often faced large band of robbers and dacoits on their ways. As for the general state of law and order which determined

the levels of "protection costs", it is worth noticing that the organization of the *caravans* and *sarais*, of the '*Tandas'* of *Banjaras*, who went armed was mainly designed to meet the threat of robbery on the routes. The protection of the routes was moreover regarded as one of the foremost duties of the administration and it was well established law of the Mughal Empire that the officer in whose jurisdiction an incident of robbery or theft occurred was held responsible to either recovery the lost goods or he had to himself pay compensation to the aggrieved party.[124] The *banjaras* which were nomads lived with their families in camps or *tandas*. A large *tanda* might contain as many as 600 or 700 souls and up to 12000 or 15000 or even 20,000 bullocks which carried about 1600 to 2700 tons of food grains. On such occasions such as when large army had to be supplied food grains, the *banjars* might collect 100,000 bullocks or more.[125] By supplying large amount of grains and other provisions to the army, the *banjaras* were exempted from taxes. Father Monserrate mentioned that, "When Mughal army faced any shortage of food grains, the merchants were asked to bring grains, maize, pulses and all other provisions and merchandise into the Mughal camps. If they would sell them at cheap rates, they would be exempted from imposts and taxes. In order to the catering to the needs of the regular annual movement of goods, they supplied the imperial army during campaigns".[126] The security of the merchants on the highways and roads was the responsibility of the Mughals and if any merchant was robbed of his goods, the officer responsible for security and law and order of the nearby area was to enquire into the robberies of the merchants. A cloth merchant Ambwji, an inhabitant of Nasik, after purchasing goods from Karinja, halted on his way, at Bhalta but in the night he was robbed of goods and three of his brothers were badly injured in the tussle that ensued between them and the robber. The *Muqaddams* of Bhulta *Pargana* were required to make a thorough search and produce the lost goods and delivered to the owner. It is further mentioned that the grain merchants named Kamal Seth and Morarji, lost seven bullocks loaded with grain at chikal *Thana*. These merchants made a complaint to the Madaru'l Maham, who in this connection ordered the *Shiqdar* of Sitalgaon to make enquiry of the robbery.[127] Mughal emperors made their own officers responsible for crimes and robberies on the highways and if after making any enquiry, they were not able to find out the culprits, they were to pay the merchants from their own pockets.

The organization of highway transport controlled by the *banjaras*, was by no means trouble free. While transporting merchandise, the *caravans* often met with another *caravan* that carried other commodities. Tavernier has mentioned that these *caravans* frequently engaged in bloody scuffles and sometimes when *banjara qafila* met on the narrow roads, fierce fighting over the right to passage was the possibility.[128] Sometimes the *banjaras* make loot, and plunder on the highways and also harass the others who passed by their way on the highways. On the complaint of *Naik* against some *banjaras* for looting him and wounding and killing his followers on his way from Jalnapur, orders were issued strictly to the magistrate to make the investigations, so that there would be no further harassment and insecurity to the travellers on their ways.[129] The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb considered that these quarrels were prejudicial to trade as well as to the transport of provisions. Accordingly, he exhorted and advised them for the common good and for their own interest not to quarrel and fight and besides he also gave each of them a lakh of rupees and a chain of pearls.[130]

The merchant communities sometimes secured their protection through Mughal official grandees. Fryer has mentioned that any *Banian* suspected of being rich was certain to be deprived of his wealth by the *Nawab* of Surat, unless he had secured the protection of some powerful grandee.[131] Banarsidas Jain has mentioned that a Hiranand Jain of *Oswal* community was an extremely rich jeweler and very influential man, being a representative (*mukim*) of Emperor Jahangir himself.[132] He had also joined favour with Jahangir, who visited his house in Agra. The evidence is also provided by an inscription on an image dedicated to a *Svetambara* Jain temple in Agra dated 1631 A.D, where Hiranand Jain is described as Gracing the Kings Palace. The visit of emperor to the merchant house was an indication to his power and influence.[133]

The security to trade and commerce on the highways led to the development in the trading activities. It also increased the level of food grains in the Mughal Empire. The scarcity of food grains and other provisions in the cities were also improved, so that there would be no insecurity to the people. The famines in some parts of Mughal Empire were also reduced through the transportation of grains by *Banjaras* from one part of Mughal Empire to the other parts. The inhabited areas and towns became well established due to the regular supply of food grains and security to merchants and

travellers throughout the highways. Father Monserrate has mentioned that due to the efficient law and order and security to trade and commerce, the port cities and those on the transition routes were well flourished. Surat city was well established due to the naturally strong position and with well fortified citadel guarded by a garrison of two hundred mounted archers. He also mentioned that Surat was crowded with merchants and its port was full of ships.[134] Another city of Lahore was largest city in Asia or Europe, with regard to size, population and wealth. It was also crowded with merchants from all over Asia and in this city a large number of merchants imported their goods of every kind.[135] The arrival of the merchants from all over Asia and Europe to these cities was a proof of high level of security maintained by the Mughal emperors for the merchants and trade and commerce activities.

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12 *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqui*, Op. cit. P. 136.

13 The fort of Rohtas in Bihar was called *Rohats-i-Kalan*, so that it might be distinguish from the fort of Rohtas in the Gakkhar region (Punjab).

14 Ibid; P. 138.

15 I. H. Saddiqi has mentioned that the extensive unit of *Handia* was constituted by Shershah a '*Sarkar* of Malwa'. Soon later, it came to be known as *Sarkar-i-Handia* and Islam Shah entrusted its charge to a high officer holding the rank of Khan with 600 *Sawars*.

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Chapter-6

Taxes on the peoples for security measures

Mughal Emperors established their empire in India on the basis of large collection of revenue and taxes. The collection of revenue from land was the backbone of the Mughal economy. But Mughals also collected a large number of other taxes from different sources which were also deposited in the royal treasury.

The collection of taxes from trade and commerce was also important source of revenue for Mughal emperors. There were such other taxes which were also collected by the Mughal officials but did not contribute much to the Mughal economy. The taxes which were realized by the Mughal officials in the form of customs, duties and other local cesses were regarded by them as their due share for their services.

There were large number of taxes paid by the peoples of different socio-economic backgrounds and some of them were remitted by the Mughal emperors, as a source of harassment to the peoples of different backgrounds. But on the other side, these taxes which were forbidden were continued to be collected at certain places.

Mughal emperors collected revenue and certain other taxes from the peoples for the services performed by the Mughal officials towards the people. During Mughal period, taxes were basically imposed and collected by the state for the protection from the internal revolts and external aggressions. As for any state, the security of their territory and security of the people is important concern and at the same time the security of the peasant class was also very important.

The taxes imposed by the Mughals on the peoples for the security measures were usually realized in order to protect the trade and commerce, peasants, cultivators, merchants and foreign trading companies. The taxes realized by the Mughal officials on the behalf of the state for providing security on every corner of the Mughal Empire need a detailed analytical study.

The different taxes collected by the Mughals officers from the peasants, travellers, merchants, trade and commerce throughout the Mughal Empire are.

1. Wages of protection.

2. *Rahadari*, a tax on roads and highways for security measures.

3. Custom duties on trade and commerce as a security tax.

    a) *Tamgha* (stamp tax).

    b) *Pandhari* (installation tax).

    c) *Mir bhari* (river toll).

1. Wages of protection:

Mughals maintained law and order throughout their territories by their officials appointed at important and strategic places. These officials were expected by the Mughals to maintain security and provide protection to the peasants, inhabitants, travellers throughout the empire, because they paid taxes as "wages of protection" (*dastmuzd-i-Pasbani*), a description very similar to the idea of king receiving wages (*vetan*), from the people for maintaining law and order found in some Sanskrit texts of ancient India.[1] Abul Fazl has also mentioned that the cultivators paid the revenue as the cost of '*Paranj'* of protection.[2]

The revenue paid by the peasants during the Mughal period could be regarded as the cost of protection for the services provided by the Mughals in terms of peaceful atmosphere and security from oppressions and disturbances. During the reign of Aurangzeb, it appears that men sent to collect the revenue and guard the crops were paid their daily expenses by the villagers, but these were deducted from the revenue demand.[3]

According to Irfan Habib, "alongside land revenue proper (*mal*) there were other taxes known as *wujuhat*. Among these were certain cesses termed as *jihat*, being imposed for the remuneration of officials concerned with the assessment and collection of revenue and often fixed as a particular percentage of it. The other taxes levied on the village were grouped under '*sair-i-jihat'*, comprising taxes on various trades, markets and transit dues, fees of officials- in short practically all taxes other than land revenue".[4]

Mughals concept of realization of taxes was based on the terms of social and economic contract between the ruler and the ruled. Mughals exaction of taxes from different sources was regarded as remuneration paid to them for providing peaceful socio-political and economic environment throughout the Mughal Empire.

The Mughal emperor Akbar through his farsightedness and knowledge proposed several regulations (*fasle*) for the well being of the working classes. For the betterment and protection of the peasantry, he issued regulations that,

> "The collectors (*amalguzars*) of the crown lands (*Khalisa*) and the *Jagirdars* should collect the rent and taxes in accordance with the code (*dastur-ul-amal*). If they collect the taxes through the wickedness and tyranny, from the cultivators more than the agreement, the oppressors were to be fined. Akbar made them responsible to enquire in the minutest details and protect the subjects. He made them clear that the thread of the administration of justice was to be doubled one, i.e. the suppliants were to be reimbursed and the extortionists were to be punished".[5]

Mughals made cultivable land under taxation and collected large amount of taxes from the peasants as land revenue and in return provide peace, security and congenial atmosphere in every aspect through different administrative regulations. The atmosphere of protection and security was provided through every possible way, even during the movement of army also. As Emperor Jahangir has mentioned that during the *Rabi fasl* (spring season), the crops were protected with every possible way. Due to the damage caused by the passage of army from the cultivable areas, Jahangir issued orders that a person should be appointed as '*qurisawal'* (probably a kind of provost marshal) with a band of *ahadis* for the purpose of guarding the fields and appoint a certain men to see what damage had been done to the crops from stage to stage and also paid compensation to the *rayats*.[6] These measures taken by the Jahangir were very much responsive and acceptable for the peasantry class. The

security enjoyed by the peasants due to these measures made peasants and *rayats* more supportive and regularly paying revenue class.

Aurangzeb regarding the collection of revenue and protection of peasants was very much conscious and even advised his own sons regarding the welfare and security of the revenue paying class. Aurangzeb in one of his letters to his son Muhammad Azam wrote that *hasil* of the Pargana did not remained equal to the *jama*. Due to it, people would be ruined and even if he had collected one lakh rupees, transferred him at all condition, because it is the duty of the emperor to protect the people. Aurangzeb was of the view that prosperity of the peasants was the result of the prosperity of the empire and if they are ruined so ultimately it will affect the interest of the empire.[7] Aurangzeb was very much serious about the prosperity of the *rayats* and ordered that from the dependencies (*Parganas*) only the amount of reserve (*jama*) be levied as was consistent with the well being and prosperity of the subjects (*rayats*).[8]

Mughals land revenue was not only collected from the cultivated land but also from the land cultivable but not cultivated (*uftada laiqe zirat*). According to Ain-i-Akbari, whosoever does not cultivate land liable to taxation but encloses it for pasturage, the collector shall take for each buffalo six *dams* and for an ox, three *dams* yearly.[9] This statement made it clear that land revenue collection procedure of Mughals was very much stringent but not oppressive. Because if in this area any cattle is plundered or is reported missing, it becomes the duty of the collector of the area to enter the effects and cattle plundered in any village in the day ledger and report the circumstances.[10] It was in order to find out the missing cattle immediately. These regulations to collect the revenue and to protect the subjects were to realize the presence of Mughal rule and their security and welfare measures towards the *rayats* and common people.

Shershah who established the second Afghan empire in India always advocated towards the prosperity and protection of the peasantry. He gave leases and took agreements and fixed the payments of measuring the fields (*jaribana*) and fees for the tax collectors and measurers (*muhasilana*). Shershah also said that the cultivation depends upon the humble peasants, if they are oppressed, they would produce nothing and for this Shershah fixed the payments for measurements and tax

gatherers fees, so that no one would oppress the peasants.[11] Shershah encouraged the peasantry and always watch over their condition, so that no one may oppress and injure them. According to Shershah, "if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them".[12]

It was from the period of Akbar i.e. from the 1570's onward, for more than hundred years the greater part of India enjoyed such freedom from war and anarchy, as it had been known for centuries. This long period of peace and security ended with violent disturbances in the last phase of Aurangzeb's reign from the different sides particularly from the peasant's communities. This was only due to the harsh and oppressive policies of the revenue collectors and governors. The Mughals were not always ruthless in the exploitation of land revenue and other taxes but it was only in the last phase of Mughal Empire. If the Mughals were always ruthless and oppressive in the collection of the land revenue or surplus as their wages of protection and prosperity, they would not have been able to rule for such a long time.[13] Due to their progressive policies and vision of prosperous Empire, their rule beyond the doubt brought a high level of peace and security throughout the Mughal Empire.

2. ***Rahadari*, a tax on roads and highways for security measures.**

The *rahadari* was a minor tax on merchants and travellers for protecting roads and highways. The *rahadars* performed duties on the roads by keeping roads safer for the merchants, traders, travellers and *caravans* and also looked after their welfare and keep provision of food and water alongside the roads and *sarais*. The *rahadars* were also to perform their duties with more efficiency, so that no criminal or robber would get away with his crime. They were also to suppress and check bad elements and see that no official oppress or exploit anyone on the roads and highways. If anyone is robbed of his belongings, it was his duty to recover the belongings and restored them to the rightful owner. In case of the non-recovery of the theft, the *chaudharies*, *qanungos*, *Zamindars*, *muqaddams* and other local people were held responsible for the theft and the whole loss of that particular person were repaired from their salaries and income.[14]

The *rahadari* was regarded as burdensome tax which was exacted by the various authorities controlling the roads and highways. It seems that it was mostly balanced to the value of goods carried.[15] As for the general state of law and order

which determined the levels of "protection costs", it is worth noticing that the organization of the *caravans* and *sarais* of the *Tandas* and *banjaras,* who went armed, was mainly designed to meet the threat of robbery on the routes. The protection of the routes was moreover regarded as one of the foremost duties of the administration and it was a well established law of the Mughal Empire that the officer in whose jurisdiction an incident of robbery or theft occurred was bound to either recover the goods lost or himself pay the compensation to the victims. The officers met this obligation by pursuing the policy of ferocious punishment and sacking the suspected villages, methods by no means unprofitable methods to themselves. This, however, was only true for the plains and the territories which were closely controlled by the imperial government. In or near the hills, ravines and desolate areas, such a policy could not be successfully carried out, because in these areas robbers and rebels exacted tribute and cesses very harshly from merchants and travellers while passing through their territories. Irfan Habib has mentioned again that in general, however, one gains the impression from the experience of European commerce in India and especially from contemporary rates of insurance of goods in inland transit, that whatever dangers a lonely traveller might have to face, *caravan* trade was normally fairly safe over the larger portion of the Mughal Empire.[16]

During the Mughal period, when *zamindari* was awarded, they were also given the responsibility of protecting the roads and highways. These *Zamindars* in order to perform their duties further appointed *rahadars* to guard and protect the merchants and travellers on the roads and highways passing through their jurisdiction and in return they were entitled to ask *rahadari* from them. The *Zamindar* could also be removed from his *zamindari* due to his carelessness and negligence in performing their duties. Sometimes the *zamindars* could also lead a rebellion and harassed the merchants and travellers on the highways.[17] During the reign of Jahangir, one of the Afridi Afghan who had been loyal and obedient to the Mughal emperor and also to whom the *rahadari* of Khybar pass belonged turned rebellious and sent forces against the *thanas* located in the territory of Kabul, plundered and killed many of the people. He also started harassing the travellers and merchants passing through these areas.[18] The *farmans* of Shahjahan clearly lays down that in lieu of services on the imperial route the *Zamindars* had a right to collect some customary dues. The *parwans* of Jaswant Singh also corroborated the same in which he instructs Nainsi to keep

vigilance along the imperial highway. It was also stated in the *parwana* that the right to collect the *'dan'* (*rahadari*) should be protected. It was not only the duty of Rathore rulers but also the *bhumias*, whose territory lay along the imperial route were entitled to collect the *dan* from the travellers.[19] There is also mention of five different names of tolls in Marwar areas such as *dan*, *vasuo*, *jagat* (*arabic zakat*), *vahatiwan* and *rahadari*. The term *dan* has two meanings i.e. first, a tax imposed on goods brought into the town for sale and secondly transit tax. The term *vasuo* means transit tax, but was applied only in *bhumia* territory and the remaining three are synonymous.[20]

The Marwar state seems to have established toll posts everywhere along the route. But, there appears to have been two different kinds of posts to collect tolls i.e. one on goods for sale and other goods in transit known as *'chabutra dani'* and *'chabutra zakat'*. The function of the latter post appears to have been to collect *zakat* or *rahadari* on goods in transit along the imperial highways.[21] The local *Rajas* collected taxes like *rahadari* on the roads and highways passing through their territories, sometimes by force also and claimed their right to collect tolls and harassed the highway travellers and merchants. During the rule of Jahangir, Francisco Peserate has mentioned that he was the ruler of plains or open roads only and if anybody travelled through the territories far away from the Mughal highways, they had to travel with strong body of guards or on the payment of heavy tolls to rebels.[22] Tavernier also mentioned that the *Rajas* or petty tributary chiefs sometimes interfere with trade and claimed that the goods which passed through their territories had to pay the customs. Tavernier has give a reference of these *Rajas* who lived between Agra and Ahmadabad, one of whom is *Raja* of Dantiwar and other is the *Raja* of Bergam, who charged the merchants in these areas. The merchants paid the *rahadari* or the protection tax to them and make their way through the territories of these two *Rajas* without any risk of goods being stolen.[23]

There are many other references of foreign travellers who has mentioned about the tolls like *rahadari* being collected at different rates. B. L. Bhadani has given a reference in his work on the basis of evidence which records the amount actually paid by the Dutch traveller. He passed through the Bargan in 1662, the entry post of the Marwar route from the side of Ahmadabad and paid Rs. 11 as a toll to the village headman. He also paid Rs. 26 ½ as toll to the village Malwara. In addition, presents worth Rs. 15 1/8 were also given to the *bhumia* (*Raja*). Interestingly, the village was

under the jurisdiction of the *bhumia* of Bargaon. This statement made it clear that the traveller had to pay the toll two times in the territory of same *bhumia*. After that they did not had to pay any tax in the Marwar region. There is a reference of amount given by B. L. Bhadani that the amount realized in 1636 for the *rahadari* mentioned for *qasba* Jalore was Rs. 2000 and for the *rekh* figure for the year 1668 was Rs. 5000. The percentage of the *rahadari* to that of *rekh* comes to 40%. This was very quite high percentage and suggests heavy traffic along the route.[24] There is no clear reference mentioned in any work about the rates levied as *rahadari* on the roads and highways. But some contemporary travellers and English factory records has provided some information regarding the taxes and duties levied on the roads of both Mughal and non-Mughal territories of local *Rajas*.

The factory records of 1618-1621 mentioned that the areas under Malik Amber could not be passed without the assurance and safe conduct from him, as these areas were not safe for English *caravans*. It was very difficult for English factors to enter through the areas of Malik Amber without his pass.[25] Due to the insecurity on the roads passing through the territories of Malik Amber, the English factors later passed through the territory of Avaus after paying customary duties or exactions and also presented two knives to *Raja* and two knives to the governor of Mandu.[26] The English *caravans* or travellers while passing through any area, the headman of that area provided security to them. As the *caravan* of English passing through the areas between Patna and Agra paid 1¾ rupees per *mound* and the head man of the area with his six *teerandaz* (musketeers) remained incharge for their security. As the English factors paid charges or taxes, the headman of the local area were responsible to provide them protection and security.[27] Sometimes English factors also escorted their *caravans* by their own soldiers. From Baroch to Surat, the roads were so dangerous that nobody dares to go there three miles out of the town. Therefore English factors while receiving *caravan* dispatch their own soldiers to approach them on the highways, so that the caravan would not be robbed.[28]

Rahadari was generally levied in proportion to the number of carts, bullocks or persons in a part. E.g. during the period of Shahjahan the tolls on the bundles of cloth was 1½ rupees and three *tankas* per ox load. The toll on horses at some places in the Deccan was five rupees per horse. The *rahadars* sometimes demanded extra charge and sometimes were persuaded to accept only the standard rate. On certain

occasions the *rahadars* take all necessary steps to protect the travellers and their goods. During the visit of Noriss, the English ambassador to see the emperor in the Deccan, his carriages were stopped at Norapur and a toll of three pies per cart was demanded.[29] The Mughal governors also demanded *rahadari* on the English goods e.g. the English goods passing through the Lavally[30] were charged with *rahadari* by the Mughal governor.[31] At Ahmedabad, the governor Shaista Khan demanded 600 rupees from the factors for permission to receive saltpeter they had contracted for. The Mughals also exacted excessive road duties inspite of emperors *farmans*. In Bengal the Dutch merchants were also treated badly by demanding road dues.[32] Sometimes governors also provided passes for the passage of goods. But after the death of governor, it was becomes very difficult for the English factors to pass with goods, as the *farman* or *dastak* becomes invalid which gave them pass duty free from *rahadari* (transit duty).[33]

The English merchants also paid tolls to local *Rajas* for escorting their goods. When English factors passed through the Burkee gate (Bhakri),[34] the *Raja* Rawal Punja without creating any obstruction to them, provided them an escort of 600 horse men and 400 foot to convoy the *cafila* throughout his jurisdiction. But they were assaulted by notorious thieves with 60 horse men with armours and 200 foot. After a long dispute with them, the English received assistance from the neighbouring *Raja* of Idar, into whose territory they were entering, dispersed the robbers and thieves. After passing through these areas, the English had to pay tolls at the rate of 43 ½ rupees per cart. While others paid Rs. 30 for 218 camels and 57 carts. The Dutch who were fallowing them paid Rs. 65 per cart. These taxes were to be paid by the merchants while passing through these territories for their safety and protection.[35] The safety, protection and restoration of goods lost of the English merchants and travellers were the responsibility of the Mughals, because the English merchants paid *rahadari* and tolls for the safety and protection. The English factors when complained about the robberies of the Lucknow *caravan*, they were first advised to send an application to the governor of that *Jagir* for the compensation where the robbery was committed. But after receiving no reply from the governor for the compensation, the Mughal Emperor received the detailed information from the *Waqai Nawis* about the incident and the emperor issued orders that if the goods were not restored, the governor of that particular place paid compensation to them.[36]

Mughals appointed *rahadars* on the main roads and highways which also connected borders of the territories of neighbouring *Rajas*. These *rahadars* not only maintained the security on the roads but also patrols these highways and roads leading to the neighbouring territories in order to take effective measures to cut off the supply of the enemy.[37] In the times of war, the *rahadars* also checked the persons and merchants dealing in horses, arms, instruments and weapons of war from crossing the road on the borders of Malakpur and passing into the territories of Hyderabad and Bijapur without any *dastak* (permit).[38]

Shershah also maintained efficient security on the highways and roads through his efficient officials. Shershah gave impetus to the movement of goods throughout his empire by simplifying the taxes on the roads and highways.[39] Shershah throughout his empire levied custom duties only at two places i.e. when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Ghari (Sikri-gali), when it comes from the direction of Khurasan, the customs were levied on the borders of the empire and the second duty was collected at the place of sale. It was during the period of Shershah that no one dared to collect other custom duties, either on the road or in any other town or village.[40]

The protection on the roads and highways during the Mughal period was affordable to the travellers and merchants. Toll *chowkis* on the highways in remote and desolate places also provided protection to the travellers. The European traveller Gamelli Careri while travelling through the Mughal territories has mentioned that the road police (*rahadars*) exacted continuously small fees for the protection they afforded.[41] The *chowkis* on the caravan routes also charged *rahadari* e.g. during the Jahangir's period, on the Surat-Burhanpur road, *caravan* paid tolls atleast in Baroda, Baroch, Ankleshwar, Khirka, Varias and Dhaita.[42] *Rahadari* was charged in proportion to the number of persons in a group, number of carts and bullocks. During the period of Shahjahan in the Deccan, the toll on the bundles of cloth was 1½ plus 3 *tankas* per ox load. Sometimes the *rahadars* demanded more but were persuaded to accept the standard or usual rate.[43]

The exaction of *rahadari* on the highways remained continued up to the decline of Mughal period. Despite certain orders and regulations issued by the Mughal emperors for the abolition of road dues or cesses, were charged in one or

another pretext by the officials appointed on the highways or roads for the patrolling and providing safety and protection to the merchants and travellers. The road dues and other custom duties which were abolished by the Mughal emperor from time to time are discussed in this chapter in the next paragraphs.

3. Customs Duties on Trade and Commerce as a Security Tax.

During the Mughal period a number of custom duties were realized from merchants and traders as a security tax on their merchandize during their coming and outgoing of the country. There are some of the customs duties which were exacted during the Mughal period inspite of their abolition by the Mughal emperors through different regulations.

a) *Tamgha* Tax (Stamp Tax):

Tamgha is a *Turkish* word which means royal seal or stamp. It was levied on the merchants when they entered or crossed the Mughal territories.[44] Ain-i-Akbari has also made a reference of *tamgha* that in every kingdom, government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue and this they called *tamgha*.[45] It was also realized by the *Jagirdars* of every provinces and district for their own profit.[46] During the time of Sultan of Gujarat, the customs at the port of Cambay were exacted in large numbers. But Mughal emperor Jahangir ordered that they should not take more than one in forty. In other ports, it was called '*tithe'* and was collected one in ten or one in eight and gave all kinds of troubles to merchants and travellers.[47] The Mughal emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb issued number of regulations to abolish this custom and for sometimes remained successful in abolition of this tax.

b) *Pandhari* (Installation Tax) :

It was another tax levied on the behalf of security measure. It was levied as ground rent for stalls in the *bazaars* (market) in the capital and other towns.[48] It was paid throughout the Mughal Empire by every trader, dealer, butcher, potter, Jeweler and the bankers also.[49]

c) *Mir Bhari* (River Toll) :

It was not much important tax during the Mughal period, but it was collected by an officer *Mir-i-Bahr*. He was appointed at the centre for every *Suba*. There is a little evidence about this office of *mir-i-Bahr* and sources provide only limited information about his duties. Ishtiyaq Ahmed Zilli has made a reference of P. Saran that the post of *mir-i- bhar* was an incharge of river transport, ferries, port duties, customs and boat and ferry taxes.[50] According to I. H. Qureshi, "the Mughals have a department of *Mir-i-Bahr*, who maintained fleet for fighting and for policing main inland waterways. He also built boat bridges and collected tolls for the maintenance of peace and security on the ports and port towns. He was also responsible for the maintenance of river and seaport within his jurisdiction in good condition to guard and supervise river communication and keep the *'Nawwara'* (flotilla) in good order".[51]

According to Ishtiyaq Ahmed Zilli, "the *Munshat* contains an appointment order for the post of *Mir-i-Bahr*. It also mentioned the duties of the *Mir-i-Bahr* which included keeping watch over rivers and fords and crossing of rivers. But there are almost sources which are totally silent regarding the activities relating to the position and duties of *Mir-i-Bahr"*.[52] The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* has mentioned that *Mutassadi* was responsible for the supervision and collection of dues at the ports and *Mir-i-Bhar* was subordinate officer and takes dues on articles brought by land and looks after the goods. He was also made responsible for the care and maintenance of the ports.[53]

❖ **Abolition of taxes as a protective and security measure by the Mughals:**

During the Mughal period, a large number of taxes were realized both at capital and local level. These taxes or cesses which were collected or exacted from the merchants, traders and travellers (both local and foreign) were meant to provide them a security cover and protection throughout their journey in the Mughal Empire. But inspite of these cesses or custom duties exacted from the merchants and travellers, they were harassed or sometimes robbed in pretext of road dues or any other local cess. The travellers and merchants passing through the areas of *Jagirdars* or local Rajas were also harassed and large amount of customs or cesses were exacted from

them as their due share. Mughal Emperors concept of realization of taxes from merchants, travellers and trade and commerce passing through the Mughal roads and highways was to provide them security cover but these measures sometimes proved fatal for the trade and commerce. Mughals inorder to boost up trading activities issued certain regulations and stringent orders for the abolition of taxes and local cesses collected on highways and centers of trade and commerce throughout the Mughal territories.

The different regulations, *farmans* and *dastaks* issued by the Mughal emperors for the safeguard and security of both trading activities and travellers are disused below.

1) Akbar was the first Mughal emperor who took an initiative to abolish all the duties or cesses as *'abwabs'* or illegal cesses.[54] He also abolished *tamgha* (inland tolls) and *Jazia* (tax on non-muslims) which brought in several crores of *dams* and the regulations to abolish these taxes were sent over the whole empire.[55] According to Arif Qandhari, "the emperor realized that some merchants and travellers were feeling helpless and miserable on account of *tamgha* tax and other demands on their coming and outgoing of the territory of the Mughals. So, Akbar abolished *tamgha* and other taxes inorder to protect the merchants and travellers". Due to these measures Arif Qandhari has further mentioned that "merchants and traders started coming to the Mughal territories without suffering or any harassment on the roads and highways. As Akbar had passed orders that in cities, *Parganas*, *qasbas*, and *vilayats* that the taxes like *tamgha*, *jihat*, *rahadari*, *salamana*, *peshkash* and *sarana* shall not be realized and no one on any excuse would be harassed or molested and put under arrest".[56]

   Akbar made every effort to abolish the transit duties and local cesses in the empire. He issued an order for abolishing transit duties, the copy of which is mentioned below.

> "Be it known to all government writers, both now and hereafter and to all executive officers in every part of Hindustan that, in the auspicious

period, being the seventh year of the second cycle from the commencement of the imperial reign, an order has been issued to this effect."As the divine government of the glorious and blessed God has in conformity with its greatness and purity and with a knowledge exalted as eternity, deemed it necessary that the dominion of countries and government of cities (which must provide for friend and stranger and must arrange the affairs of the merchants and traders), should be accomplished by means of just kings, a tax was therefore established on articles brought into market, that from this source of revenue, troops might be kept up and proper guardians appointed to protect the property of the state and of the individuals. But, as such tax, when not justly collected, must be source of confusion and detrimental to business, (though, praised be God! Since the emperor's just reign commenced, the attention and consideration of his heart have ever been exerted for the necessary comfort of the common people and the encouragements of his subjects), an order is hereby issued exempting from taxation and registry of the following articles: All kinds of grains or seed; herbs whether edible or medicinal; oils, sugar essences; cotton and woolen cloths; things made of leather ; copper articles; madder, wood, reeds and grass; with such like things and effects as are in common use among the people; excepting, however, horses, elephants camels, sheep, goats, military arms and silken stuffs, the taxes on which, besides one percent, are claimed as vested rights

> toll, or for benevolent purposes." The government writers and other executive officers, are hereby commanded to give effect to this order, so that the powerful may not oppress the weak, nor the tyrannical commit aggressions on those who are at their mercy; now that respect for the imperial greatness and magnificence exist in every breast and the light of justice and clemency has appeared; let us give thanks for all these presents to Him who is the beneficent author of truth".
>
> "it is therefore necessary that all executive officers and commanders, all provincial writers and governors of cities, with all *Jagirdars*, administrators of government lands, custom house officers, keepers of highways or passes, landholders and all other government authorities should attend to this order and use their utmost efforts to obey it; without attempting in any way to evade the same".[57]

Akbar after abolishing various taxes throughout his empire such as *tamgha*, *baj*, *rahadari*, *peshkash*, *sarana* and *salamana*, no one was allowed to exact or receive in future even one dinar or one *man* (*mound*) of grain in accordance of regulation.[58] In recognition of these humanitarian measures, the representatives of the empire and responsible officers during the period of Akbar once again engaged themselves in establishing good administration and took various steps and efforts for the betterment and welfare of the people.[59]

2) Jahangir after his accession to the throne of Mughal Empire issued twelve orders to be observed as the rules of conduct (*dastur-ul-amals*) in all his territories. The first order which Jahangir issued was the forbidding the levy of cesses under the name of *tamgha* and *mir bhari*

(river tolls) and other cesses which *Jagirdars* of every provinces and district imposed for their own profit.[60] Jahangir before his accession to the throne was already acknowledged with the different types of taxes or cesses which were for a long time harassed the merchants and travellers on the roads and highways. So, Jahangir after coming to power first issued order for abolishing these illegal duties and taxes which were also abolished by his father (Akbar).

Jahangir not only remitted the custom duties amounting to crores of rupees, but he had also abolished all the transit due (*sar-i-Jihat*) or *rahadari*- which brought one crore and 23 lakh *dams*. From the provinces of Kabul and Qandhar, large amount of sums were also derived from customs like *zakat*, which was also a chief revenue of these places were remitted by Jahangir. Due to these measures taken by Jahangir in the provinces of Kabul and Qandhar, which were transit areas of trade, greatly benefited the people of Iran and Turan by establishing free and safe conduct of caravans, merchants and travellers throughout the Mughal territories.[61] For the promotion of trade and commerce and safety of merchants from the harassment by the Mughal officers on roads and highways were strictly prohibited by the Jahangir and in this regard Jahangir had also issued an order that, "the bales of the merchants should not be open on the roads without informing them or obtaining their leave".[62] Jahangir abolished these custom duties and taxes inorder to promote trade and commerce and to reduce harassment by the *Jagirdars* and the Mughal officials on the highways responsible for maintenance of security and law and order.

3) Shahjahan made every possible effort to abolish all illegal taxes and cesses exacted by the state officials and *Jagirdars*. Shahjahan also granted a compensation of reduction in taxes and free passes or *farmans* to merchants and travellers. In 1649, a new chapter was given to East India Company by Shahjahan by which the English goods had to pay 2% on the prime cost or sale value of the goods at the place of importation. These measures were taken to improve the trading relations between the Mughals and the English.[63] English always

desired to receive *parwanas* or *farmans* from the governor for free trade. From the letter of 12th Jan. 1647, the English who were opponents of Dutch traders and always desired to receive a *parwanas* or *farmans* from the governor of Surat for freeing them from all duties on carts. As Dutch had also received a license from the governor for the transport of saltpeter without duty.[64] These rivalries or competition among the foreign trading companies were usually for the export and import of goods without duty or any custom and they get due benefit from the Mughal governors or emperors in the forms of *farmans* and *parwanas* regarding their duty free trade.

Not only English but Dutch also received concessions in customs and road dues. A *farman* of Shahjahan of Dec. 1627 A.D, addressed to the *hakims* and *amils* of the port of Surat states that they were also exempted from taxes and road dues. The *farman* states that the officials of the imperial court neither levied *zakat* on their merchandize and nor their goods be checked at *farza*. The Dutch company and their commander had submitted to the imperial court that they transit their business at the port of Surat and their ships carry merchandize between the port of Swally and Surat. The Dutch further argued that they were not to be charged with the rent in the *Parganas* for transporting their merchandize. The petition of Dutch had been accepted and Shahjahan had issued petition to his officials to act according to the royal order and all the *rahadars* on Burahanpur-Ahmedabad route were ordered not to impose unauthorized demands, under the pretext of *rahadari* and *chaukidari*, on the Dutch. The *farman* also states that all the officials not consider themselves absolved from the duty of implementing the order.[65] The English merchants made every effort to get rid of the vexatious custom duties and other cesses. They sometimes succeeded in getting *farmans* from the emperor and *nishans* from their sons for duty free trade. Even sometimes after the death of governor, it become very difficult for English factors to pass with goods, as the *farman* or *dastak* become invalid which gave them pass duty free from *rahadari* (transit duty).[66]

The road dues were also very common during the Mughal period and were not suppressed properly throughout the territories of Mughals. Those who have the power to exact these illegal dues, collected for himself and not for the state treasury. These taxes were usually collected on the road and highways which were far away from towns and cities or sometimes on the roads passing through the deserted villages or areas.

Richard Davidge in July 1650 obtained a *farman* granting the English freedom from road dues. The *farman* had an order for the officials at Surat and in Sindh to abstain from collecting illegal dues and providing for compensation to be given for the robbery of *caravan* between Agra and Lucknow.[67] Another *farman* of Shahjahan to his officials for protecting and providing security to English merchants on the roads passing through different areas of the Mughal territories. The copy of the *farman* of Shahjahan of 1650 is given below.

> "Order is given to the various officials, including those having charge of the roads between Agra and Bengal and between Agra and Surat, either by way of Burhanpur or via Ahmedabad, that the English having paid the usual custom at Surat, Broach, or Lahri (Bandar), are not to be troubled with any further demands. This injunction is to be considered as perpetual. Should any robbery be committed, the *Jagirdar* of the place is to use his best endeavors to recover the goods, paying every attention to the English".[68]

During the period of Shahjahan, Prince Shuja was the governor of Bengal. He issued an order and freed all the English from the payment of all the customs and dues in 1653 A. D. During his period 1651, a factory was also established at Hugli and it was due to the protection and peaceful atmosphere provided by the Mughals to the

English. During that period a large number of trading activities were also encouraged with the abolition of custom duties. A special tax called the *Chahil-yak* (a levy of 2 ½ %) for the thattah (a place in Gujarat) used to oppress other traders and by the *nishan* of Dara Shikoh, the English were also exempted from this tax.[69]

During the reign of Shahjahan, every possible effort was utilized to promote trade and commerce and security of merchants and travellers were increased. Different *farmans*, orders and *nishans* were issued for this task to protect the foreign trading companies and travellers.

4) Aurangzeb also does not remained behind the scene of abolishing the duties and other taxes which led to the harassment and oppression of the merchants, traders, travellers and local peoples involved in different activities. Aurangzeb's reign remained always controversial among the historians and scholars for his policies towards the state. But towards the maintenance of law and order, peace and security and relief to merchants, traders and travellers in terms of security and oppression from taxes, customs and transit duties like *rahadari*, he was very much appreciated in the writings of history.

Aurangzeb abolished a number of taxes on many occasions. On his formal enthronement in 1659, he issued an order to all provinces that all the road tolls, transit dues and taxes on food stuffs were to be remitted. But when he heard that the taxes were still collected, he issued another *farman*;

> "Royal orders and mandates with emphasis on execution (of such orders) were issued to the administrators of every *subah*, *sarkar*, *faujdar* and *karori* of different parts to the effect that exaction of abolished taxes should be immediately discontinued".[70]

Aurangzeb in order to protect the interest of traders, merchants and security of travellers on the roads and highways issued a number of orders. Aurangzeb when came to know that Abdur Rahim was harming the traders of Gujarat, he issued a *'Shuqqa'* containing orders for the protection of travellers and another about the abolition of *rahadari* Tax. Aurangzeb considered '*rahadari'* not a road tax but '*rahazani'*, a sort of plunder. He says that about fifteen and sixteen thousands were collected as *rahadari* from *Pargana* Loni, but only ten thousand was deposited in the treasury. They can only collect 1/20 and 1/40 as *rahadari*. Since it was all included in *Khalisa-i-Sharifa* and its entire income must go to the state.[71] Khafi Khan in his work *'Muntakhab-ul-Lulab'* has mentioned that, "*rahadari* tax as the most unbearable of taxes. It had been charged by the *faujdars* and *Jagirdars* with utmost harshness from the traders, needy and distressed travellers and continued to be levied with same force in the whole of the Mughal Empire". Khafi Khan further made a remark that, "when *Zamindars* were convinced that they were to be answerable before none, they began to levy this tax in their own areas with greater severity than in the *Khalisa* lands. The result was that the prices of the articles invariably go doubled by the time they reached their destinations". He regretted strongly that there was always insecurity on the roads and highways and public places and the life was at the mercy of the corrupt and selfish *Zamindars* and *Jagirdars*.[72] Aurangzeb in order to make people free from worries and distress gave orders for the remission of *rahadari* (road toll) which was collected on ever highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry. He also remitted the *pandhari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Mughal Empire by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, potter, jeweler etc. which yields lakhs of rupees. Other cesses lawful and unlawful, as the *sar-shumari, buz-shumari, bar gadi*, the *charai* (grazing tax) of the *banjaras*, the *tuwana*, the collection from fairs or the fairs of infidels throughout the Mughal empire and where buying and selling of all kinds were performed, were abolished. Besides these, all the taxes and other imposts, which were nearly eighty in number and brought crores

of rupees in the public treasury, were all abolished throughout the Mughal Empire. Besides these, the *'tithe'* of corn, which lawfully brought into twenty five lakh of rupees, was also remitted in order to alleviate the heavy prices of grains in the market. Aurangzeb in order to enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published every where throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (*ahadis*).[73] Saqi Mustaid Khan in his work *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* has mentioned that, "according to his (Aurangzeb) usual generosity the collection of *rahadari* (road toll) on the transit of grains and other articles were abolished forever".[74] Among many favours towards the welfare and security of life of common people and merchants was the abolition of excise duties on cloth and other articles subject to the '*sair'* (octroi), especially the duty on tobacco, which yields a large amount of revenue and due to which customs and excise officers used to practice outrages on the modesty of women in searching their clothes, under the suspicion of its being smuggled. Aurangzeb in order to protect the dignity of women and security of merchants and traders sent his *farmans* to every *subah* ordering that the taxes (*hasilat*) should be collected only in accordance with the rules of the Holy Quranic law.[75]

Aurangzeb also granted exemption of free trade to English merchants by abolishing the custom duties and transit dues. When Shivaji attacked upon Surat, the Mughal emperor ordered that the rebel would be punished and the merchants, who were plundered by Shivaji, would be remitted from customs for one year. After this remission for customs free export and import, the Mughal emperor also granted the exemption through the letter from Jaffar Khan, the emperor's Diwan called *'hasbul hukum'*, that after the expiration of one year, half of the customs of English merchants would be remitted. These exemptions were mainly due to the efforts of English in repelling back the Shivaji and other rebels at Surat port.[76] Sometimes when English or European merchants created law and order problem or insecurity in the Mughal territories or territorial waters, they were suppressed through the heavy

realization of taxes and custom duties or tolls. During the period of Aurangzeb, the ship of Mughal Empire was destroyed by the *firangi* pirates. On this misfortune, Aurangzeb ordered that these *firangis* should be ousted from the churches and their churches should be demolished. These measures taken by Aurangzeb in order to torcher them and suppress them, as later on they continued to trade within the Mughal empire. The European merchants who had secured a *Sanad* from the Mughal court and on its basis insisted for 100% exemption from custom duties were not considered for their actions and creating insecurity for the merchants of the Mughal Empire. Due to their actions Aurangzeb ordered that not a single *dam* should be left with them and tax be realized fully.[77] These incidents were happened occasionally and after the settlement of issues, they were exempted again by issuing duty free passes.

Aurangzeb after remitting the taxes or illegal duties issued strict orders prohibiting their collection. All the taxes with the exemption of the *Pandhari,* which was mostly obtained from the capital and chief cities, were abolished forcefully. But the *faujdars* and *Jagirdars* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions inspite of royal prohibitions. Throughout the Mughal Empire, the *rahadari* remained continued to be collected. As *rahadari* was most vexatious impost and oppressive to travellers, was collected in the parts of imperial territories by the *faujdars* and *Jagirdars* also by force and tyranny. Khafi Khan has concluded his remarks regarding *rahadari* that, "the *Zamindars* upon the frontiers also carried their violence and oppression in the matter of *rahadari* to such extremes as are beyond description".[78] At last we can say that these taxes or transit dues which were abolished by the successive Mughal Emperors remained only in official papers, as they were collected by the Mughal and non-Mughal officials continuously. According to Irfan Habib, "Duties of all types continued to be collected, either this was done illegally, for the benefit of the *Jagirdars* or other officials, or what had been abolished by one hand was authorized by the other."[79]

In the concluding lines we can say that the nature of these taxes and duties varied from emperor to emperor for making their own image and seeing the condition of the merchants. The Mughal emperors made changes in their taxation policies and we have mentioned several examples showing the abolition and introduction of protective measures. Taxation policies of the Mughals sometimes confronted with the local interest. Therefore Mughals faced local resistance also.

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Chapter-7

Impact of internal security on the socio-political life of the Mughal Empire

The maintenance of the internal security was the chief responsibility of the Mughals. The internal security which was essential for the day to day working of the administrative machinery was dependent up on the officials appointed in their respective territories i.e. *khalisa* and *jagir* lands. Under the Mughals the responsibility for maintaining law and order and internal security management lies under the Mughal *subedars, jagirdars, faujdars, kotwals, thanedars, muqaddams* etc.

The Mughal Empire from Babur's period onwards, a large number of problems arising out of law and order and internal security erupted. Not only Babur but his successors also faced the large number of security problems throughout the Mughal Empire. In order to overcome these problems, Mughals established different departments under responsible officers to maintain an administrative balance and good governance throughout the Mughal Empire. These departments or officials with a strong thrust on socio-economic and political issues established an efficient and effective civil and political administration of the Mughal Empire.

After studying and analyzing different issues of internal security, law and order in cities and towns, institution of intelligence, security at Parganas and villages, highways and trade and commerce and lastly, the taxes on peoples for their security and protection were some of the issues which we have discussed in earlier chapters remained positive in nature and more responsive toward the welfare of the people.

The issues discussed in the chapters have left some impressions in the form of impact on different socio-economic and political life of the Mughal Empire. The different types of impacts are mentioned below in the following points.

1. Social and economic security increased.

During the Mughal period, the social and economic security was very important to run the administrative machinery. In order to maintain peaceful work culture, large numbers of policies were initiated by the Mughals which made

profound impact on the life of the Mughal Empire which is mentioned in the following points.

a) Protection and security in cities and towns increased.

In cities and towns, the sense of social security increased due to the efforts of the officials like *Kotwal* and *muhtasibs*. They watched carefully the streets and houses in cities and towns, so that nobody robbed the people of their belongings. At night, they also prohibit people from entering and leaving the city.[1] Due to these precautions taken by the officials, the security of life and property increased very much. In cities or towns, if someone is robbed, the officials appointed were held responsible for the loss of the goods and even sometimes they had to pay from their own pockets for non recovery of goods.[2] Due to these measures taken by the Mughals, the officials became vigilant and careful in regarding the maintenance of security and peace in cities and towns. Tavernier has also made a reference regarding the safety and security. He mentioned that, "during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan, police system was so strict in all things and particularly with reference to the safety of roads and there was never any necessity to execute a man for having committed thefts".[3] From the statements of Tavernier, it becomes clear that due to the measures taken by the Mughal emperors for the security of life and property in cities and towns, there was no theft or robbery and everyone was living a peaceful and congenial atmosphere.

b) Control of intoxicants and other harmful drugs.

During the Mughal period, punitive measures were taken to curb the crimes in cities and towns. The making, buying and selling of wine in cities and towns was also prohibited because after taking these drinks, the people became unconscious, uproars in the streets and disturbed the people living in cities. Jahangir also issued and ordinance for the ban on making and selling of wine or rice sprits (*darbahra*) or any other kind of intoxicating drugs were implemented throughout the empire.[4] An important officer *Muhtasib* (censor of public morals) was appointed to check these immoral activities and prevent people from these evil practices and maintain social order in cities and towns.[5]

Due to these measures, the working class of the society received some relief and social security from these evils.

c) Maintenance of law and order in cities and towns.

Mughals appointed Kotwal as a police officer for law and order and internal security. He was an officer who took every task of preventing and protecting the peoples in cities and towns. The *kotwal* also punished and executed the criminals who created disturbances and law order situation. During the reign of Akbar, regarding the morality in societies where both men and women performed evil practices, astray from right path and engaged in notorious assemblies by making friendship with strangers, the *Kotwal* took stern action against them by putting them on donkey's back and then round them in the city.[6] Arif Qandhari further made a remark that, "Akbar wiped out the oppression and tyranny through the office of *Kotwal*, who delivered justice and saved people from oppressions".[7]

2. Extension of cultivation.

During the Mughal period, the area under cultivation increased with the passage of time and further conquest of territories by the Mughal emperors. The waste lands which were dense and covered with forests were cleared for cultivation. Sometimes, the desolate zones were also cleared where rebellious peasants also sought refugees. Irfan Habib has mentioned that the desolate zones near Yamuna, Chambal and Yamuna ravines were utilized by the rebellious peasants. The province of Delhi consist of three geographical units i.e. the country now called Rohilkhand, the upper Doab and the tracts of Haryana.[8] During the reign of Aurangzeb practically all the village had been brought under measurement and the area recorded had grown by nearly a third over the *Ain's* figure (including Tijara and Narnaul). At the same time the number of villages in Aurangzeb's statistics was nearly one half larger than that recorded in 1881 census.[9]

The cultivation during Mughal period increased and there are some important factors which made strong impact on the extent of cultivation and particularly on the socio-political life of the Mughal Empire.

a) Protection of peasants and crops increased.

The Mughal Emperors in order to collect land revenue properly, made certain officials from *Sarkar* to village level responsible for maintenance of law and order and protection of peasants and crops. Due to the different regulations issued by the Mughal emperors from Akbar's period onwards, a large amount of revenue was collected. The officials like *faujdars*, *amils*, *amin* and *muqaddams* were appointed to maintain security in the cultivable areas. The *amin* who was chief assessment officer of the *Pargana* examined the conditions of the peasants and crops. After making annual assessment, he displayed the qualities of judicious and far sighted persons, which ultimately resulted in the prosperity of peasants. For the protection of peasants from the oppression of the revenue collectors, a number of *farmans* issued by the Mughals regarding the collection of revenue by collectors i.e. *amils* or *amalguzars*. In these *farmans* it was strictly laid down that these officials should not make any trouble or create any situation of oppression on cultivators. The *farman* of Muhammad Shah during the reign of Aurangzeb issued to *amils* clearly indicates that *amils* and *karoris* were asked not to make any trouble during the collection of revenue from peasants.[10] These steps were taken to create a sense of social security among the peasants. Mughal emperors also issued various *farmans* to the state officials regarding the welfare and security of peasants. Akbar issued an order to the government servants that they should use their endeavour to increase their cultivation. The cultivators were conciliated and advance in money were also given to increase cultivable land. Due to these measures large number of villages were established and blessed with population and land revenue also increased. Akbar had also stressed more on the collection of land revenue from peasants in a peaceful manner.[11] Through the issue of *farmans* by the Mughal emperors towards the protection of peasants and crops, regulations were strictly implemented and certain officials were held responsible for the conditions of peasants and crops. A *farman* of Aurangzeb to Rasik Das Karori in the form of revenue guide mentioned that when he used to go to the villages to access the condition of *Pargana* properly, he should also see the condition of crops and the capacity of the *Rayats* and the amount of revenue. He also checked the

village officials like *muqaddams* or *patwaris* that if they practised oppression, he should conciliate the *Rayats* and give them their dues properly.[12] The *farmans* issued to the *karoris* by the Aurangzeb was very much concerned with the welfare and protection of peasants and their cultivation. Even when Shershah used to go to his *jagir* before establishing his own empire, he summoned all the officials and cultivators and addressed them as the prosperity of the empire depends upon the prosperity of the peasants and asked the village officials to protect the peasantry from the harassment.[13] In order to reduce the oppressions on the cultivators, he fixed the payments for measurements and tax gatherers fee. Shershah was of the view that, "the collection depends on the humble peasantry and if they would be ill treated, they would produce nothing but if they would be prosperous, they would grow much more crops."[14] Due to the regulations of Shershah, the headman (*Muqaddam*) of the villages always attended and obeyed the orders of the Shershah. The fear and dread of Shershah was so deeply rooted in the minds of turbulent people of different parts of his empire that according to the measurement they paid their revenue and perform peaceful activities without causing any damage to the activities of peasants.[15]

b) Increase in cultivable land and crop production.

With the establishment of internal security and law and order in every part of Mughal Empire, the Mughals also considered security of peasants very important to realize large amount of land revenue. The security of peasant's i.e. economic security was well established from Akbar's period onwards. Mughals in order to promote cultivation and encourage peasantry brought more land under cultivation. In the earlier chapters we discussed how Mughals established a sense of security among the peasants and cultivators through their revenue officials. Due to the efforts of the Mughals towards the development of agriculture and maintenance of law and order, land revenue was collected peacefully and up to their expectations.

During the Mughal period due to the maintenance of security and protection to the peasants and cultivators, a large number of cultivable lands were brought under cultivation and was charged only half or less than half of

the standard rate of revenue in the first year of its being brought under plough. These measures or revenue concessions were the chief mechanism formulated by the Mughal administration to support developments in two directions recognised by it. Mughals first charged half and then increased annually till the fifth year the full amount was reached. These measures brought large number of cultivable lands into cultivation. Irfan Habib has presented certain observations from the *Ain* and *hidayat-ul-qawa'id* that if peasants sowed more land than was fixed for the year by the revenue officials (under *Nasaq*), no revenue was to be levied for the additional area.[16] These concessions were mainly accepted by the Mughals to increase the cultivable land and bring social and economic prosperity among the peasantry class. Irfan Habib has further made references about the increase in cultivable land in different areas. He has stated that from the records of 17th century historians, Punjab had been laid waste and depopulated by successive invasions of the Mongols and when Kabul was brought under the control by the Mughals, prosperity and security of Punjab areas increased. E.g. the town of Batala was founded in the upper Bari Doab by clearing the forest and waste land and the town enjoyed a period of exceptional peace and security under the Mughals.[17] Mughals also adopted relief measures to help the peasants from the exceptional distress. Mughals in order to promote and develop agriculture took steps in aid of the development of agriculture and offered effective means of increasing the revenue and economic security. Irfan Habib's study on certain documents reveals that the Mughal conception of development is frequently stated in documents and involves the realization of two measure objectives i.e. the extension of area under cultivation and increase in cultivation of cash crops (*jins-i-kamil*). The first objective derived its importance from the presence of large areas of land lying uncultivated and second held its appeal because cash crops were taxed at higher rates and a shift to them would naturally enhance tax revenue. Mughals in order to follow these objectives granted remissions on a large scale during the time of famine. During the reign of Shahjahan, a great famine of 1630-1632 affected most of the Gujarat and Dakhin and remissions were granted by Shahjahan i.e. 70 lakh rupees were remitted in *khalisa* lands whose total *jama* in the whole empire amounted to 80 crore *dams*. The *jagirdars* were awarded with similar remissions and they were helped by the reduction in the *jama*

dami, amounting for the Dhakin province alone to 30 crore *dams*. Again in 1642, a famine occurred in Kashmir during the time of Shahjahan. The assessment on the peasants was reduced and in the Lahore province *jama* in the *khalisa* lands was also reduced in 1651 as result of the scarcity conditions.[18] These measures were taken to improve the cultivation, to increase the revenue demand and to lessen the food insecurity among the peoples.

Similar concessions were also granted by the Mughals to improve the productivity. The Mughals offered the concessions to the peasants whosoever repaired the damaged wells in the villages and they were asked not to pay any land revenue, but only a tax at flat rates per well. After the famine of 1630-1632, low revenue rates were offered in some of the affected areas so as to encourage resettlement.[19] Mughals also encouraged the cultivation by advancing '*taqavi'* (loans) to the peasants as method of encouraging cultivation. *Amalguzars* were asked to assist the empty handed peasants by advancing loans to them. The *amin* who was revenue assessor also checked whether ploughs in a village are sufficient for tilling the land, if not he gave *taqavi* to cultivators for the purchase of bullocks and seeds. The *taqavi* (loans) were also distributed for the construction of dams and canals for irrigation. Irfan Habib has mentioned that during the Murshid Quli Kahn's reforms in the Deccan, *taqavi* was also distributed for developmental purposes and Multafat Khan, who was the author of an ambitious proposal, advance Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 from the imperial treasury for financing the construction of dams (*bands*) in the province of Kandesh and Berar (Painghat region) during the later years of Shahjahan. The *taqavi* loans were also advanced through the *chaudhuris* (or *deshmukhs*) and *muqaddams* (or *patels*), who distributed among the individual peasants by the headman on their own account, were also called as *taqavi*. These loans were received gradually or sometimes the repayment was exacted in parts i.e. at the first harvest and fully in the next harvest.[20] These measures and steps taken by the Mughals towards the increase in cultivation and crop production were founded very effectual throughout the Mughal period and promoted consciousness among the peasants towards the irrigation and cultivation of more agricultural lands.

3. Expansion of trade and commerce

Mughals establish a large network of trade and commerce and for the expansion of trading activities, large number of roads, *Sarais* for lodging of merchants, guards and *chaukis* on highways for security of merchants and traders were established. Due to these measures taken by the Mughals led to the development of Mughal economy, which are mentioned as under.

a) Security of roads and highways increased trading activities:

The security to trade and commerce on the roads and highways led to the expansion of trading activities. It also increased the supply of food grains in the Mughals Empire. The scarcity of food grains and other provisions in the cities were also reduced, which in turn reduced the sense of food insecurity among the peoples. The scarcity of food grains due to the famines in some parts of Mughal empire were also reduced through the transportation of grains regularly by the *banjaras* from one part of Mughal empire to other parts. The inhabited and desolate areas and towns became well established and prosperous again due to the regular supply of food grains. These facilities and provisions became well established only due to the measures taken by the Mughal Empire and security to merchants and travellers throughout the highways. Father Monserate has mentioned that, "due to the effective law and order, security to trade and commerce, the port cities and those on the transition routes became well flourished. Surat city was well established due to the naturally strong position and well fortified citadel guarded by garrison of two hundred mounted archers". He also mentioned that, "Surat was crowded with merchants and its port was full of ships".[21] He has also given a reference of Lahore city which was largest in Asia or Europe with regarded to size, population and wealth. It was crowded with merchants from all over Asia and a large number of merchants imported their merchandise of every kind.[22] These statements given by Father Monserate has made it clear that the arrival of the merchants from all over Asia and Europe to these Mughal cities was a proof of high level of social and economic security to merchants and travellers on the roads and highways.

b) Construction of *Sarais* on roads and highways:

Mughals built large number of *Sarais* or rest houses on the highways for the protection, safety of goods and lodging of merchants. A European traveller John Jourdian has mentioned that when he was travelling to Agra, the road was not free from thieves and he therefore stayed at Kachner *Sarai* for some time.[23] This statement made it clear that the travellers were protected and shelter was provided throughout the highways. The Kabul and Gaznin roads during the time of Akbar were also not considered safe for travelling. In these roads, the tribes of Afghans inhabited between Kabul and Indus molested travellers on the roads, due to which travelling was very difficult. Akbar in order to protect these roads established *Sarais* and attached *thanas* with them in these dangerous places and protected the travellers from harassment. Due to this important step, the travelling to Kabul and Gaznin roads became peaceful and free from molesting.[24]

Shershah also took the responsibility of protecting the highways and for the security and prosperity of merchants, built a number of *Sarais*. On the highways Shershah built 1700 *Sarais* along the roads for the rest of travellers and merchants and also to keep them safe from the highway robbery and dacoits.[25] Due to these welfare activities and protection of merchants and travellers on the roads and highways, a large impetus was given to trading activities. Jahangir also issued orders about the security of roads and made *jagirdars* responsible for the security of highways. He also ordered *jagirdars* to built *Sarais*, mosques, dig wells nearby the roads, so that people might settle down near these areas.[26] Due to these measures, large population began to settle down near these *sarais* which reduced the insecurity and molestation of travellers on the highways. Aurangzeb also ordered that highways must be populated, so that movement would be easy and safe.[27] Within a period of time, the villages nearby the *sarais* on the roads and highways, insecurity on the roads were reduced and further no harassment of the travellers had taken place in these populated areas. Nicollao Manucci while travelling through the Mughal territories mentioned that there were number of *Sarais* on every route and in every *Sarai* there were an important official appointed to keep travellers and merchants safe in these *Sarais*. He further mentioned that the Mughals

were very serious towards the safety of merchants and travellers.[28] The security of the travellers on the highways was on the priority of Mughals and due to which they built large number of *Sarais* for the safety on the roads and highways. The European travellers while travelling throughout the Mughal roads did not complained about the insecurity. Gamelli Carreri (1693-1699), while travelling in the northern parts of Mughal Empire also mentioned that near Surat and Ahmedabad, travelling was more safe and comfortable.[29] This statement reflects that the security on the roads was well established by the Mughals. Thevenot also mentioned that travelling between Delhi and Agra towns was very pleasant.[30] The *Sarais* built by Mughals were only for the travellers and soldiers were not permitted to stay in these *Sarais*. It was only to protect the travellers and merchants from the harassment and molestation by the soldiers and also to maintain social structure. These *Sarais* were provided with facilities of separate rooms for both men and women travellers,[31] in order to maintain the dignity and respect of women. From the Akbar's period onwards, it became a part of their cultural aspect to built *Sarais* and provides safety and security to travellers and merchants on the roads and highways.

c) *Thanas* and military posts were setup to protect merchants and traders:

The Mughals established *thanas* and military check posts on strategic areas and due to which the insecurity and harassment in the disturbed areas were put down and led to the free flow of trading activities without any danger. The strong hand to curb the oppression by the highway plunderers, robbers during the Mughals under Akbar, a stringent action was taken and the sufferings of the people were reduced and travel became easy and comfortable. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, "the Hindustan became the centre of security and peace and the land of justice and beneficence. A large number of people especially learned men and lawyers immigrated and choose this country (of Mughals) as their homeland."[32] During the period of Shahjahan, security was also maintained on the roads by issuing *dastaks* (permits) for travelling one region to another, so that the travellers would be examined that they are not carrying out irregular activities against the authority of the state.[33] Due to these measures the security was fully maintained and notorious

activities were checked by the officials attached to the military check posts and *thanas*. Even Aurangzeb also established watchman, patrols and guards on the highways for the smooth and safe transition of the travellers.[34] Mughals maintained socio-political conditions of the empire through the safety and security of the people travelling from one region to another. During the Mughal period people travelled from one region to another to perform trading activities and due to which it became pertinent for the Mughals to keep highways safe from robbers and dacoits. William Finch (1608-1611) while travelling to Surat mentioned that highways were full of thieves and he found that Mughals established *thanas* on the highways to protect the travellers and merchants.[35]

Aurangzeb in order to keep roads safe appointed certain officers like *Qilahdars*, *Thanadars* and patrols of roads responsible for the security and protection. Due to these measures, the roads were checked and enemies were kept under vigil so that they would not get the supply of grains and horses. The strong check was maintained on the roads and highways by establishing *thanas* and patrol parties on the roads. These measures taken by Aurangzeb towards the security and protection on the highways became possible only due to the surety bonds obtained by the Aurangzeb from the officers, so that these officers would be made fully responsible for the highways safety and security.[36]

Shershah after establishing a large network of roads and highways followed a policy of maintenance of law and order and internal security, established forts and *thanas* along the strategic roads and highways.[37] Due to these measures, the merchants and travellers passing through these strategic areas were protected from robbers, thieves and rebels. By establishing forts and *thanas* and keeping army and foot soldiers ready for any problem of insecurity and rebellion which hindered travelling, a high level of security was maintained on highways and merchants and travellers were fully protected.[38] Shershah in order to establish and connect the provinces with the capital constructed large number of highways. The province of Bengal which was properly isolated was connected with the capital Delhi by constructing grand highway from Sonargaon to Attock called as *Sark-i-Azam* (Grand Trunk Road)

which was also protected by constructing forts and *thanas* along the roads. Shershah was of the view that by connecting Bengal with the capital, he could uproot the rebellions and protect the travellers and merchants and most importantly he broke out the physical and political isolation of Bengal and uniform system of administration was carried out. By the effective measures of establishing *chaukis* and *thanas* on these highways from Bengal to capital Delhi, he kept his fingers on the pulse of Bengal wherever he happened to be.[39]

d) Taxes were abolished to promote trade and commerce:

The collection of taxes from trade and commerce was also a source of revenue for the Mughals. The taxes which were collected from the people of different socio-economic backgrounds were realized in order to protect the peoples, merchants, traders and travellers from the internal revolts, harassment and molestation. But the collection of taxes on almost times becomes a source of harassment and was forbidden by the Mughals. The abolition made a great impact on the promotion of trade and commerce.

Akbar was the first Mughal emperor who abolished all duties and illegal cesses to promote trade and commerce.[40] Due to these measures by Akbar, the merchants and traders started coming to the Mughal territories without any suffering or harassment on the roads and highways.[41] The officials responsible for these measures led to the establishment of good administration and various steps were also taken for the betterment and welfare of the merchants and traders. During the reign of Jahangir, the custom duties were also remitted which amounted crores of rupees. But on the other side these customs created sense of insecurity among the merchants and traders. When Jahangir issued regulations towards the abolition of customs duties and other taxes, the merchants and traders from Iran and Turan coming through the provinces of Kabul and Qandhar greatly benefited these peoples by establishing free and safe conduct of caravans and merchants throughout the Mughal territories.[42] These measures brought tremendous increase in trading activities and established cordial relations between Mughals and the Iranis and Turanis.

During the reign of Shahjahan protection and security was also provided to trading communities. Due to which the large number of trading activities were encouraged and security and protection were realized even by the English merchants also. Not only the sense of security increased, the English merchants also establish their factories in Mughal territories.[43] The Aurangzeb did not remain behind the curtains but also tried his best to increase safety and security of merchants by abolishing road taxes and custom duties. He abolished number of taxes on many occasions. During the reign of Aurangzeb, a large number of European merchants started coming to Mughal territories to carry out their trading activities and it was only due to the protection and security throughout the roads and highways. Aurangzeb promoted the interest of traders and merchants through abolition of taxes and led to the development of trading activities in a peaceful manner. The merchants from foreign countries started coming in great numbers to Hindustan and engaged themselves in buying and selling freely. They also brought valuable goods freely without any fear and safely returned to their respective homelands.[44] The security as an important steps taken to promote foreign trade and commerce led to the regular flow of goods towards the Mughal Empire without any obstruction.

e) Compensation in case of theft or robbery of goods:

During Mughal period roads and highways were protected from robbers and dacoits and in order to increase security of roads and highways, officials were appointed. Mughals made *faujdar*, *shiqdar*, *Zamindars*, *muqaddams* and other local officials responsible for the loss of goods on the highways passing through their jurisdiction. These officials were held responsible to supervise the roads and provide safety to the merchants and travellers and were also obliged to pay compensation for their loss. The protections of routes were regarded as the foremost duties of the administration and recovery of goods lost were paid by them from their own salaries and income. Due to these measures taken by the Mughals towards the safety and protection on roads, the officials responsible for this task became cautious and took stern actions against the culprits. It was also due to the responsibility of paying compensation from their own pockets, they became

vigil and confident towards their duties, e.g. during the reign of Shahjahan, a cloth merchant Ambawji of Nasik was robbed of his goods, the *Muqaddam* of the village where robbery had occurred was held responsible to make thorough search and produce lost goods or pay compensation from his own pockets.[45] During the period of Shershah, if any robbery had occurred in the area of *Muqaddam* and he was not able to make enquiry or find out the culprits, the *Muqaddam* was punished or even put to death as a warning to others.[46] During the time of Shershah travellers and wayfarers were relieved from the trouble of keeping a watch over the goods throughout the night on the highways. There was also no fear to halt even in the midst of desert and even travellers and merchants could encamp at night at every place, desert or inhabited. They even placed their goods and property on the road side and turned out their mules to graze and themselves slept with minds at ease and free from any care. This statement given by Abbas Khan Sarwani cleared a point that there was a peace and security on the highways during the rule of Shershah. Even he has further mentioned that in the cities or towns the roads were also free from robbers and thieves. If an old woman full of jewellery in her basket was walking through the road at night, no thief or anybody dared to come near her. As Shershah inflict a hard punishment for these acts and due to which everywhere there was a safety and security on the roads and highways fully realized by travellers.[47]

These measures taken by the Mughals towards the safety of goods on highways made officials fully responsible and cautious towards their duties in protecting merchants and traders.

f) *Farmans* and duty free passes were given to increase foreign trade:

The Mughals in order to promote trade and commerce issued certain *farmans*, *dastaks* or passes for free trade and commerce. The Mughals considered these measures as concessions to boost the trading activities between the Mughals and the foreign trading companies like Portuguese, English, and Dutch etc. The Mughals issued *farmans* and passes for exemption from *rahadari* and other transit dues for the promotion of trading relations. Shahjahan granted compensation of reduction in taxes and issued free passes

to merchants and travellers. In 1649 A. D. Shahjahan issued *farman* to East India Company by which English had to pay 2% on the prime cost or sale value of the goods at the place of importation. These measures were taken to improve the trading activities between the Mughals and the English.[48] The Dutch traders who were also opponents of English traders also received *parwanas* or *farmans* from the governors of Surat for freeing them from all duties. These trading companies always received due benefits from the Mughal governors or emperors through *Farmans* regarding duty free trade.[49] These protective measures proved vital for the large scale visit of foreign merchants and travellers to Mughal territories. The policy of reconciliation and providing facilities continued during Aurangzeb's period and after.

In the light of such *farmans*, *parwanas* or *dastaks* for free trade, protection and assistance, were provided on the roads and highways by the Mughals. The difficulties, harassment and molestation of foreign merchants and travellers were only exception occurring in periods of rebellions or insecurity on the roads during the period of turmoil. From these measures taken by the Mughals towards the protection, security and welfare of the foreign traders and merchants, a large number of foreign traders and travellers started coming to the Mughal Empire and most importantly we can say that they became confident in establishing trading relations with the Mughal Empire.

4. Relations between Mughals and regional states strengthened:

During Mughal period, the *Rajput Rajas* also termed as *Zamindars* by the Mughals were also inducted into the Mughal administration as *peshkashi Zamindars*. These *Zamindars* were assigned to pay regular tribute and to rendered military assistance to Mughals in restoring law and order and internal security on the roads and highways. They were expected by the Mughals to take stern action against the rebellions, criminals and fugitive who entered their territories. Due to this the Mughals also remained dependent on the support of the regional states for military services. These services performed by the *rajas* of regional states strengthened their relation with the Mughal emperors and Mughals also expressed their support to them through honours and promoted them to higher ranks in the Mughal administration.

With the period of time from Akbar's reign onwards, the *Rajput Rajas* performed law and order duties throughout the highways and roads passing through their territories. As we have discussed in the earlier chapter about the duties of *Rajput Zamindars* that they performed security and protection to travellers and merchants. When the merchants, traders and travellers had to go to Gujarat, they had to go through *Rajputana* and it becomes the duty of these *Rajput Zamindars* to provide them security cover and protection through these highways. These measures taken by these Rajput chiefs strengthened their relations also. According to Arif Qandhari, "Akbar was a man of perfect wisdom and always instructed the princes and Rajas of non-Mughal territories responsible for the safety of roads and highways. Mughals also kept them under their control through friendly relations and they also attended the Mughal court and maintained peace and security on the roads and highways passing through their territories."[50] Akbar made them responsible for any insecurity in their areas and due to which the risk of travelling was lessened and merchants and travellers passed through these highways comfortably. A European traveller Thevenot has also mentioned that the *Rajput Rajas* were very loyal to the Mughals and provide security to the merchants. If any caravan passed through their territory, they took the responsibility of defending the caravans. When any merchandise passed through their territory, they treats whole caravan politely and sent provisions to their camps. When caravan was ready to go further, the *Raja* sent his own men for their security, until they crossed over their territory. Thevenot had also mentioned that one of such *Rajas* lived in the territory which includes all the villages from Cambay to Broach.[51]

These relations between Mughals and *Rajas* of regional states intensified the trading activities and also curbed the criminal activities on the highways and roads. Even when Mughals passing through their territories, they were asked to maintained the roads and make arrangement for their security. During the Mughal expedition to Kashmir under Akbar, a letter was sent in advance to the *Raja* of Rajauri, asking for his assistance on the Mughal road to Kashmir and Mughals promised that they would be suitably rewarded.[52] Even when Jahangir was travelling to Kashmir, the security arrangements on the road to Kashmir was performed by the *Zamindars* as Mahdi Nayak and Hussain Nayak and later on they were rewarded by Jahangir for their services.[53] The Mughals always issued certain regulations and *farmans* to the *Zamindars* or *Rajas* of regional states to keep them in touch with the imperial orders

and due to which they always performed their duties in maintaining and keeping their respective areas in proper law and order, so that there would not be lapse in the internal security of both Mughal and non-Mughal territories. These measures taken by the Mughals towards the *rajas* of regional states led to the emergence of peace and security and regional states became the partners of Mughal Empire in carrying out their administration.

5. Stability and security increased through effective intelligence and communication network:

The Mughals in order to remain connected with every detail and happenings in their empire establish a high level of intelligence and information network. Mughals appointed certain officials like *waqai-nawis*, *swanih-nawis*, *khufia-nawis*, *harkaras*, *jasus* or *munhiyan* to carry out the institution of information, so that security, law and order could be maintained and timely protection could be provided to the needy. Mughals through this institution brought a great advantage to the Mughal administration, because regular information was acquired about the whole empire and its inhabitants.[54] Thevenot has also mentioned that Mughals appointed certain officials to write and keep register of all that happened within the whole empire. He further mentioned that Mughal emperors appointed them in every province and gave emperor a notice of everything.[55] Thus we can say that Mughal emperors keep strict watch over their officials and these officials never showed non-seriousness in their duties. The news were regularly brought by the news reporters and immediately taken into confidence, so that action could be taken against the rebels and culprits within time. Even the news were also brought to the emperor about the plans, seditions and conspiracies and Mughal emperors crushed the activities of rebels before their onslaught on the imperial forces or they might get the upper hand. During the reign of Aurangzeb petitions were sent by the *munhiyan* that Zulfikar Khan was in a trouble at the siege of Jiuji fort and in this situation Aurangzeb issued a *farman* to Jandetul to provide every help to Zufikar Khan.[56] Under these circumstances information was regularly despatched to the Mughal emperors, so as to overcome the situation immediately. Shershah had established underground espionage network and regular reports also reached him by the *Dak Chaukis*. Shershah through his regular check on government led to the establishment of peace and security throughout his reign and from Bengal to his capital Delhi, he remained informed of every small bit of news,

which brought prosperity even to the common people from insecurity and rebellion and wherever he happened to be, he remained informed of everything.[57]

Mughal maintained extensive authority over the whole empire and it was due to the elaborate and efficient communication network. Due to these measures regular transmission of news and royal orders were dispatched within a time and without any delay. The Mughal officials remained vigilant towards the safety and protection along the imperial highways and transition centres of trade. The effective and regular check was maintained and every obstacle or any problem was removed immediately. The Zamindars also received regular despatches from the news reporters towards their duties regarding safety and security in their respective territories

At last we can say that Mughal officials became very conscious about their administrative duties by the regular flow of orders and regulations through effective intelligence and information network. These officials remained confident about their duties and worked efficiently in their areas. The flow of news and information of all events that took place throughout the length and breadth of the Mughal Empire, kept Mughal officers conscious and vigilant towards their administrative duties and due to which Mughals remained in power for more than two centuries.

After revisiting the issues of internal security and law and order which brought prosperity and sense of security to the whole Mughal Empire, there is no doubt that there were also some negligence towards the duties performed by the Mughal officials and there are many references in both primary and modern works. But Mughals always remained serious towards the internal security and safeguarding of the empire. Through these polices, they brought a consolidation of the empire and safeguarded the territorial integrity. The Mughals not only maintained roads and highways but also increased their functions as politically, administratively and commercially. The effective security cover to the foreign traders and merchants led to the increase in commercial centres in different parts of the Mughal Empire. These measures also expanded both inland and overseas trade and foreign trading companies started to establish their factories in Mughal territories with the prior permission of the Mughals. Through these effective security and intelligence networks, the rebels were suppressed, law and order was maintained and most importantly the army movement and mobilization towards different areas became possible. Even the protection to the weakest person was also provided during the Mughal period.

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Conclusion

The Mughals followed the concept of internal security for the realization of their rule in society, maintenance of law and order and continuous economic activities. Therefore Mughals established several administrative institutions for connecting one part of the Mughal Empire to other and to maintain law and order through these agencies. Even the Afghan ruler Shershah was also confident about his policies towards the security of the empire. He was of the view that *"crime and violence prevent the development of prosperity".* Therefore Shershah maintained effective administrative institutions for the establishment of his own empire.

The Mughal emperors treated it one of their responsibilities to maintain internal security through the *Jagirdars* and other officials.The safeguarding of the empire and the territorial integrity against the internal and external aggression, the Mughal established an efficient and responsible authority at every administrative level. In the maintenance of peace, internal security and law and order to protect every section of society, Mughals kept every official such as *subedar*, *faujdar*, *thanedar*, *jagirdar*, *Zamindar*, *Kotwal* and village headman responsible. From provinces to village level, every official was expected by the Mughals to provide security and peaceful atmosphere in their respective jurisdiction to every class of society in spite of their other duties. These measures were only taken to keep the officials confident of their duties towards the people.

In the present work a number of issues have been highlighted and dealt with the application of probing the historical facts in existing system. The different institutions established by the Mughals for the maintenance of peace, security and law and order remained working with utmost perfection and regularity. The Mughals in order to keep large areas under their control made their presence felt in different areas through the large amount of revenue collection. In this work after discussing and analyzing a number of issues, we came across a certain number of things that Mughals never compromised with the internal security of their empire. They kept under their control every part of society through their policies and regulations, which proved very effective for their rule. The issues which we have discussed in this work have left very far reaching impressions in the form of different socio-economic and political achievements.

As during the Mughal period, the socio-economic security was very important to carry on the administrative machinery and due to which, the Mughals initiated a number of policies to continue the peaceful working atmosphere without any hindrance. In the opening pages of this research work, we have mentioned out first how Mughal administrative machinery worked out in the cities and towns. After studying and analyzing the role of different agencies towards the protection and maintenance of internal security and law and order in cities and towns, we find out that Mughal officials performed their duties very effectively. The *muhatsib* and *kotwals* who were responsible for safety and security remained confident towards their duties. Due to the precautions taken by these officials, the security of life and property was strenghtened. If someone was robbed or anybody had committed a serious crime, the officials took every effort to find out the criminals and goods which were robbed were restored to the rightful owner or if these officials failed in their duties, they were held responsible for that crime. Due to which the officials became vigilant and careful in their duties. In order to curb the immoral activities, *muhtasibs* (censor of public morals) was given free hand to close down the brothel places, buying and selling of intoxicating drinks were prohibited and their shops were closed down. Due to these measures, the working class received some relief and social security from these evil practices.

Mughals in order to increase the land revenue and reduce the scarcity of food grains throughout the empire, made certain reforms to increase the cultivable land. The land which was cultivable was covered with forests inhabited by rebels, was put down and cleared for cultivation. Mughals also maintained the peaceful atmosphere for the cultivation of crops and protection of peasants. The officials like *faujdars*, *amils*, *amins*, *thanedars* and *muqaddams* were appointed to maintain security in the cultivable areas. Mughals also issued number of *farmans* regarding the peaceful collection of revenue and was strictly laid down, due to which the peasants got relief from trouble and oppression from the side of revenue collectors. The policies and measures taken by the Mughals led to the increase in number of villages around the cultivable lands and which in turn led to the increase in land revenue from the peasants. The two objectives which Mughals formulated i.e. the extent of area under cultivation and increase in cash crops (*jins-i-kamil*) were fulfilled through the adoption of peaceful measures and security to peasants and cultivators.

The Mughals also established a large network of roads and highways throughout their empire. The reason behind this was not only to make travel easy and comfortable but they had formulated a policy far reaching behind this. The roads and highways constructed throughout big towns and cities were not only merely used for travellers, but Mughals through these roads and highways increased trading activities and army movement in every part of Mughal Empire. On the roads and highways, *sarais* were established for lodging of merchants and traders and *thanas* and *chaukis* (police posts) were established to protect merchants and travellers from robbers and dacoits, which led to the development of Mughal's economic activities. Through these highways trading activities increased and which in turn led to the increase in the supply of food grains in every part of the Mughal Empire. The scarcity of food grains in famine stricken areas were fulfilled by the transportation of grains regularly with the help of these roads and highways. The desolate areas and towns became well established with the construction of roads passing through these areas. The city transit centres and port cities became well flourished with the regular flow of commodities.

The construction of *sarais* on the roads and highways became instrumental in putting a check on the robberies and increased the sense of security among the merchants and travellers. Shershah also took certain measures towards the security and protection on the roads and highways. He alone built 1700 *sarais* on the highways to keep merchants and travellers safe from robbers and oppressors. Due to these measures, large population began to settle down near the *sarais* and near the highways which also reduced the molestation of merchants and travellers. The security of women on the highways was also a priority of the Mughals and for them separate rooms in *sarais* was provided with facilities in order to maintain and protect the dignity and respect of the women. Due to these measures adopted by the Mughals throughout their Empire, became a part of their culture to protect and promote the welfare activities of every class of the society.

The Mughals in order to protect the merchants and travellers established *thanas* and *chaukis* (police check posts) on the highways and strategic areas, which reduced the insecurity and molesters and oppressors were put down on the highways. Due to this large number of peoples, learned men and foreign travellers started coming to the Mughal Empire. Not only foreign travellers but foreign merchants and traders also started coming to the Mughal Empire.

Mughals in order to protect the peasants, merchants and traders from the oppression of large number of illegal taxes formulated a policy under which only prescribed taxes were exacted. The taxes on the roads and transition centres which were utilized illegally by the officials were abolished. Due to these measures, merchants started coming to the Mughals territories without any suffering or harassment and engage themselves in buying and selling freely. The security and protection to the merchants from taxes led to the promotion of trade and commerce. The Mughal policy of granting free passes and *farmans* for duty free trade increased the foreign trade. The Mughals condemned the taxes as concessions to boost the trading activities between the Mughals and the foreign trading companies like Portuguese, English, French, Dutch, and Danish etc. The protective measures towards the merchants and traders proved very vital for the large scale visit of foreign merchants and traders to the Mughal territories and this policy of reconciliation and providing facilities also remained continued during Aurangzeb's period and after. The facilities provided by the Mughals to large number of foreign merchants and traders resulted in their large scale increase during the 17th century and most importantly these foreign trading companies became confident in establishing their trading relations with the Mughal Empire.

During the Mughal period, the relations between Mughals and regional states also strengthened. The regional rulers or autonomous chiefs' payed regular tribute and rendered military assistance to the Mughals in restoring law and order and internal security. Mughals realized taxes as a source of check on the authority of the autonomous states dealing with the merchants and also as a method of putting Mughal control on the autonomous states. They were also expected by the Mughals to take stern action against the rebellious persons, criminals and fugitives who entered their territories. Due to this, the Mughals also remained dependent on the support of the regional states for military services. The Mughal roads and highways passing through their territories were also protected by them. When the merchants, traders and travellers had to go to Gujarat, they had to go through Rajputana and it was the duty of the Rajput Zamindars or autonomous chiefs of these regions to provide them a security cover and protection throughout their journey on these highways. Due to these responsible measures taken from the side of Rajput *rajas*, the risk of travelling lessened and merchants and travellers passed through these highways comfortably.

The relations between the Mughals and *rajas* of regional states intensified the trading activities, curbed the menace and criminal activities on the highways and roads and also the regional states became the partners of the Mughal empire in carrying out their administration.

The Mughals in order to remain well connected with every detail and every aspect of the society throughout the empire established a high level of intelligence and information network. In order to regulate the working of this institution of information, Mughals appointed number of officials like *waqai-nawis, swanih-nawis, khufia-nawis, harkaras, jasus* or *munhiyans* etc. Through these officials regular information was acquired about the whole empire and its inhabitants immediately and action was taken against the culprits within a time. The Mughal emperors also received news about the plans, seditions and conspiracies from the news reporters and secret reporters and crushed the activities of rebels before their onslaught on the imperial forces. Shershah also established an underground network of news reporters and received reports from *dak-chaukis* from Bengal to his capital Delhi or wherever he happened to be, he remained informed of everything. Mughals maintained extensive authority over the whole empire and it was due to the elaborate and efficient communication network. Due to this Mughals remained vigilant towards the safety and protection of their empire.

The internal security measures of the Mughals not only led to the maintenance of a big empire spreading from Kabul to Deccan. But the officials of the state also worked for regional contacts interms of trade and commerce and exchange of social activities such as movement of *Sufis* and other literary persons. It has already been mentioned that in Mughal Empire the movement of the merchants and army were frequent phenomena. The internal security of the Mughal Empire facilitated both the merchants, army and other socio-economic mobilities to carrying their work without being fearful of their movements. Thus the Mughal Empire created an inclusive and conducive atmosphere for the people to carry on their activities in accordance with rules and regulations of the empire.

Glossary

1.	*Mahal*	–	it was an estate, and is defined, any parcel or parcels of land which may be separately assessed with the public revenue.
2.	*Khalisa*	–	A land controlled directly by the king and not assigned to any officer, Jagirdar or Zamindar by the state.
3.	*Faujdar*	–	A military commander of an army unit invested with the charge of the police and jurisdiction in all criminal matters. A criminal judge.
4.	*Arrack*	–	spirits
5.	*Darbahra*	–	rice spirits
6.	*Dastur-ul-amals*	–	rules and regulations issued by emperors.
7.	*Zor-talab Zamindars*	–	rebellious Zamindars who payed taxes by using force.
8.	*Farman*	–	a royal missive issued by the sovereign or the chancellery bearing the imperial *tughra* and seal.
9.	*Hukmnama*	–	a written order, decree, warrant, writ, judgement like *parwana*.
10.	*Jagir*	–	a tract of land granted to *mansabdars* and persons of that kind, that they might

			take its *mahsul* (revenue) from cultivation.
11.	*Sarai*	–	rest house
12.	*Thana*	–	a military post or garrison, a place sometimes with a small fort.
13.	*Suba*	–	province under the Mughals.
14.	*Subedar*	–	head of the Suba.
15.	*Qilagiri*	–	conquest of the fort.
16.	*Qilahdari*	–	inchargeship of the fort.
17.	*Thanadar*	–	officer in charge of *thana* or police station.
18.	*Parwana*	–	official term for the rescripts of the ministers, grantees etc. of the Mughal empire. It was a substitute for the *amsila* of the sultanate period.
19.	*Qasba*	–	a small town
20.	*Chakla*	–	a large division of a country, comprehending a number of Parganas.
21.	*Muhtasib*	–	censor of public morals
22.	*Kotwal*	–	city police officer
23.	*Sadr-us-Sadar*	–	head of the ecclesiastical department or chief civil judge or Almoner, i.e. supervisor of the religious endowments of the emperors.

24.	*Sanad*	–	an order, written authority, royal ordinance, mandate or decree, diploma.
25.	*Sazawal*	–	steward.
26.	*Watan*	–	native place.
27.	*Shariat*	–	Muslim religious law.
28.	*Nazim*	–	an administrator or governor of a province.
29.	*Ahadis*	–	gentleman trooper
30.	*Diwan*	–	office; the central secretariat
31.	*Kacheri*	–	office of the court.
32.	*Waqia-Nigar*	–	writer of the daily reports.
33.	*Baitul-mal*	–	the public treasury into which payments on various accounts are made and according to the sources from which they are derived, applicable to the support of different classes of persons; an escheat property that falls to the crown on failure of heirs goes into it.
34.	*Chabutra of Kotwal*	–	platform in front of police-perfect's office, where criminals or the severed heads were exposed to public view.
35.	*Chauki-i-khas*	–	the special watch or guard placed round the emperor's person.

36.	*Chobdar*	–	a mace-bearer, a servant whose business is to announce the arrival of the company.
37.	*Rahdari*	–	a road tax or transit due.
38.	*Karoh*	–	an Indian measure of length, equal to about two miles.
39.	*Langar khana*	–	a house providing free food.
40.	*Jurmana*	–	fine.
41.	*Zar-i-Jarimana*	–	fine, penalty.
42.	*Tarazu kasha*	–	a tax on stamping weights and measures.
43.	*Mahal-i-Chabutra-i-Kotwali*	–	The cesses collected in the Kotwali constituted a separate fiscal unit in Surat and Cambay.
44.	*Chhati*	–	a cess per cart load.
45.	*Mushrif*	–	treasurer.
46.	*Tahwildars*	–	cashiers and account keepers
47.	*Abwabs*	–	illegal cesses.
48.	*Barids*	–	news reporter during sultanate period.
49.	*Ulaq*	–	horse post
50.	*Dawa*	–	foot post
51.	*Parganas*	–	a district comprising many villages.
52.	*Darogha*	–	the chief native officer in various departments, a superintendent, a manager.
53.	*Daroga-i-Dak-chauki*	–	chief of the postal service.

54.	*Qimar khana*	–	gambling house.
55.	*Nazir*	–	an inspector, a supervisor, who is sent to make inquiry into any breach of law or the peace.
56.	*Waqai nawis*	–	news reporter
57.	*Peshkash*	–	tribute from subordinate rulers.
58.	*Zat*	–	personal rank of a *mansabdar* during Mughal period.
59.	*Sawar*	–	additional rank or men assigned to a *mansabdar* as a mark of distinction.
60.	*Dastak*	–	passes issued for trade and commerce
61.	*Diwan-i-Arz*	–	office of the ministry of war
62.	*Siyah-i-Huzur*	–	Akbar's imperial court diary
63.	*Mansab*	–	military rank conferred by the Mughal government
64.	*Mansabdar*	–	holder of mansab
65.	*swanih nawis*	–	news reporter.
66.	*Khufia Nawis*	–	secret news reporter.
67.	*Harkaras*	–	secret reporter or messenger.
68.	*Ummal*	–	revenue officers.
69.	*Akhbar Nawis*	–	writer or reporter of the news and information.
70.	*The Jasus (spies)*	–	these were also intelligence officials, who reported confidentially.

71.	*Munihyan*	–	these were regarded as underground news reporters
72.	*Munhis*	–	literally a person who informs concerning things forbidden during Allauddin Khilji's reign
73.	*Tawachi*	–	adjutants.
74.	*Yasawals*	–	messengers.
75.	*Qazaq Yigiltar*	–	scouting braves.
76.	*Piyada*	–	footman
77.	*Mewras (runners)*	–	these were another class of reporters who travel by a foot over a long distance to dispatch the news. The mewras were native of Mewat and were famous as good runners.
78.	*Bazaar-qasid*	–	market couriers
79.	*Ilchis*	–	these were selected from the emperors close associates, who usually acted as his messengers or envoys to another country or court
80.	*Qasids*	–	these were generally referred to as messengers, who were usually send to brought news from enemy's army or country
81.	*Pattamar*	–	fast runner

82.	*The Dak-chaukis*	–	these were postal stations were relay is posted and were controlled by the officials appointed by the imperial authority
83.	*Sarais*	–	rest houses on roads and highways
84.	*Qabzul Wasil*	–	Pay Bill
85.	*Kabutar-i-Nama-bar*	–	carrier pigeons
86.	*Banjar*	–	waste land.
87.	*Bigha*	–	a unit of an area to 2/5 of an acre.
88.	*Bhomia*	–	a local term for Zamindar.
89.	*Dam*	–	a copper coin.
90.	*Gharis*	–	hours
91.	*Pahars*	–	watches
92.	*Amal-guzar*	–	collector of revenue
93.	*Bitikchi*	–	accountant
94.	*Qarawal*	–	A sentinel, watchman, spy or guard. These belong to branch of army and during the war they were sent ahead as spies
95.	*Yasawal*	–	A horseman and a state messenger
96.	*Jiladaur*	–	A messenger or carrier of letters
97.	*Sipahsalars*	–	head of the each Subah i.e. the governors
98.	*Faujdar Gard*	–	police official responsible for law and order
99.	*Shiqdar*	–	head of the shiq or district

100.	*Khazanadar*	–	treasurer
101.	*Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran*	–	head of the Sarkar
102.	*Shiqdar*	–	an officer incharge of an area of land described as *shiq*.
103.	*Munsif-i-Munsifan*	–	chief judicial officer
104.	*Rayat*	–	peasant
105.	*Qanungo*	–	hereditary revenue record keeper of a Pargana.
106.	*Gumashta*	–	Agent or representative
107.	*Bulukat*	–	district
108.	*Nakhasa*	–	cattle or slave market
109.	*Taluqas*	–	Dependencies
110.	*Amil*	–	an officer of government in the financial department, especially a revenue collector.
111.	*Amin*	–	official incharge with the duty of measuring the land under cultivation for determining the government share in agriculture produce.
112.	*Muqaddams*	–	hereditary petty village officials
113.	*Fasle*	–	Regulations
114.	*Dastur-ul-amals*	–	regulations
115.	*Kalantaran*	–	village headman
116.	*Patel*	–	village headman in Deccan.

117.	*Karori*	–	collector of the government dues of a certain area (originally estimated to yield one crore of *dam* or Rs. 2, 50, 000) or market place.
118.	*Patwari*	–	village accountant
119.	*Muqaddam*	–	village headman identical with Patel in the Deccan.
120.	*Peskashi Zamindars*	–	tribute paying Zamindars
121.	*Arz -dasht*	–	a petition from an inferior to a superior.
122.	*Khilat*	–	robe of honour conferred by the emperor and other high persons.
123.	*Khilat-i-Khasa*	–	a special robe of honour, an honorific dress with which princes conferred dignity upon subjects.
124.	*Inam*	–	gift or reward
125.	*Khilat*	–	robe of honour
126.	*Chaukis*	–	station
127.	*Thugs*	–	an Indian name for disguised robbers.
128.	*Kos*	–	a unit of measurement during medieval period
129.	*Toofangdars*	–	matchlock men
130.	*Minars*	–	towers
131.	*Caravan*	–	a group of merchants travelling together
132.	*Mutasaddi*	–	administrator
133.	*Gurzbardar*	–	Mace-bearer

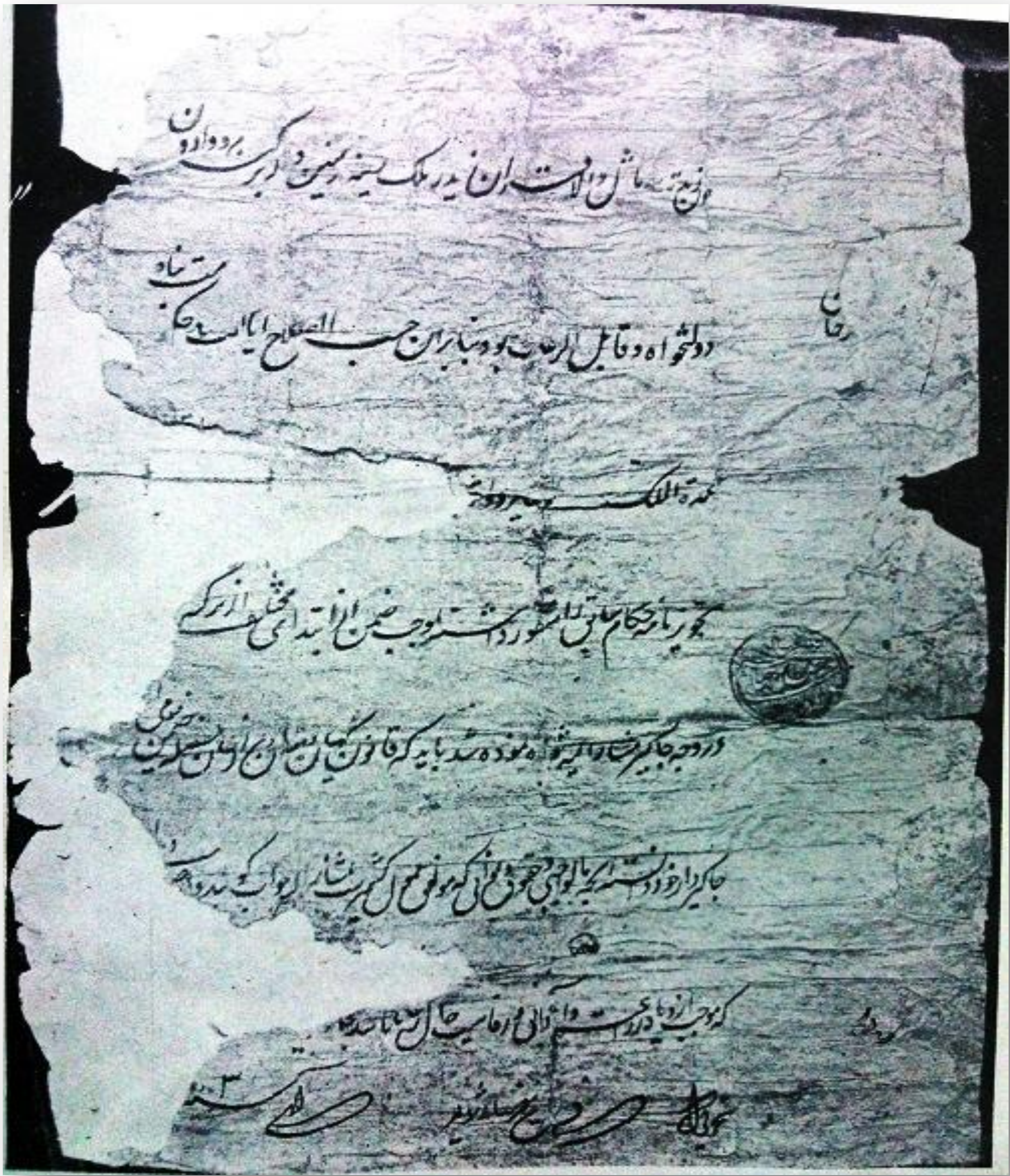
134.	*Balghurkhana or Langarkhana*	–	free kitchens for feeding the weak and the poor
135.	*Baniyas*	–	merchant class
136.	*sar-i-Jihat*	–	transit dues
137.	*Sair*	–	octroi
138.	*Ahl-i-kasab-o-hunar*	–	traders and artisans
139.	*Shahbandar*	–	chief of the merchants
140.	*Tamgha*	–	stamp tax
141.	*Pandhari*	–	installation tax
142.	*Mir bhari*	–	river toll
143.	*Dastmuzd-i-Pasbani*	–	wages of protection
144.	*Uftada laiqe zirat*	–	land cultivable but not cultivated
145.	*Jaribana*	–	a ce of ms to meet the expenses incurred on the measurement the fields.
146.	*Muhasilana*	–	fees for the tax collectors and measurers
147.	*dan, vasuo, jagat*	–	zakat.
148.	*Mauza*	–	village.
149.	*Mawas*	–	fortified village.
150.	*vasuo*	–	transit tax
151.	*Chabutra*	–	dani and chabutra zakat
152.	*Teerandaz*	–	musketeers
153.	*Cafila*	–	Convoy
154.	*dastak*	–	permit
155.	*Tamgha*	–	a Turkish word which means royal seal or stamp

156.	*Jazia*	–	a tax on non-Muslims
157.	*charai*	–	a grazing tax
158.	*Balahar*	–	lower grade agricultural peasants
159.	*Banjara*	–	a corn merchant
160.	*Bhang*	–	an Indian intoxicant herb
161.	*Chaudharies*	–	a class of village headmen
162.	*Darogha*	–	a minor officer in charge of a local office
163.	*Doab*	–	land between the Jamuna and the Ganges
164.	*Fath nama*	–	a letter or message of victory
165.	*Garhi*	–	a measure of time equal to 20 minutes
166.	*Hukum-i-baraward*	–	principle of production cost
167.	*Hukm-i-hasil*	–	assessment (of land revenue) according to measurement
168.	*Hukum-i-mushahida*	–	assessment (of land revenue) by inspection only
169.	*Jitals*	–	copper coins of Delhi sultanate
170.	*Ardbegi*	–	head of intelligence service
171.	*Qaravual*	–	courier
172.	*Haraval*	–	advance guards
173.	*Capavul*	–	messenger, courier
174.	*Tabin*	–	military escort of ruler
175.	*Yasaval*	–	special security officer.
176.	*Shuqqa*	–	an official letter.
177.	*Sarkar*	–	a sub-division of a *suba* under Mughals; containing many Parganas.



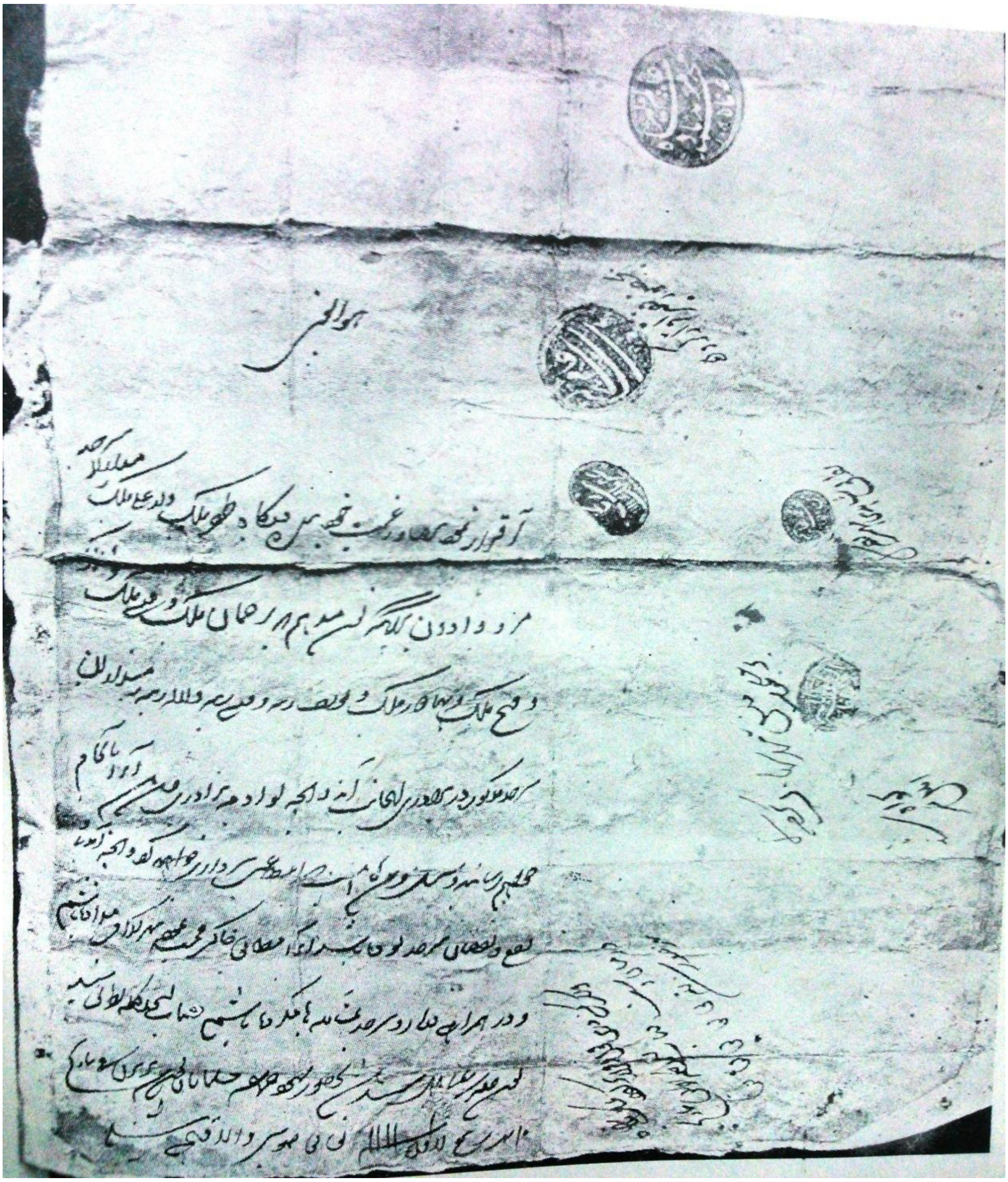
Farman No. 1: A copy of memorandum regarding the complaint of women in a court against the Kotwal of Wankri Pargana.

Source: ***Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*****, ed. by Yusuf Husain Khan, A. R. No. 10, P. 105.**



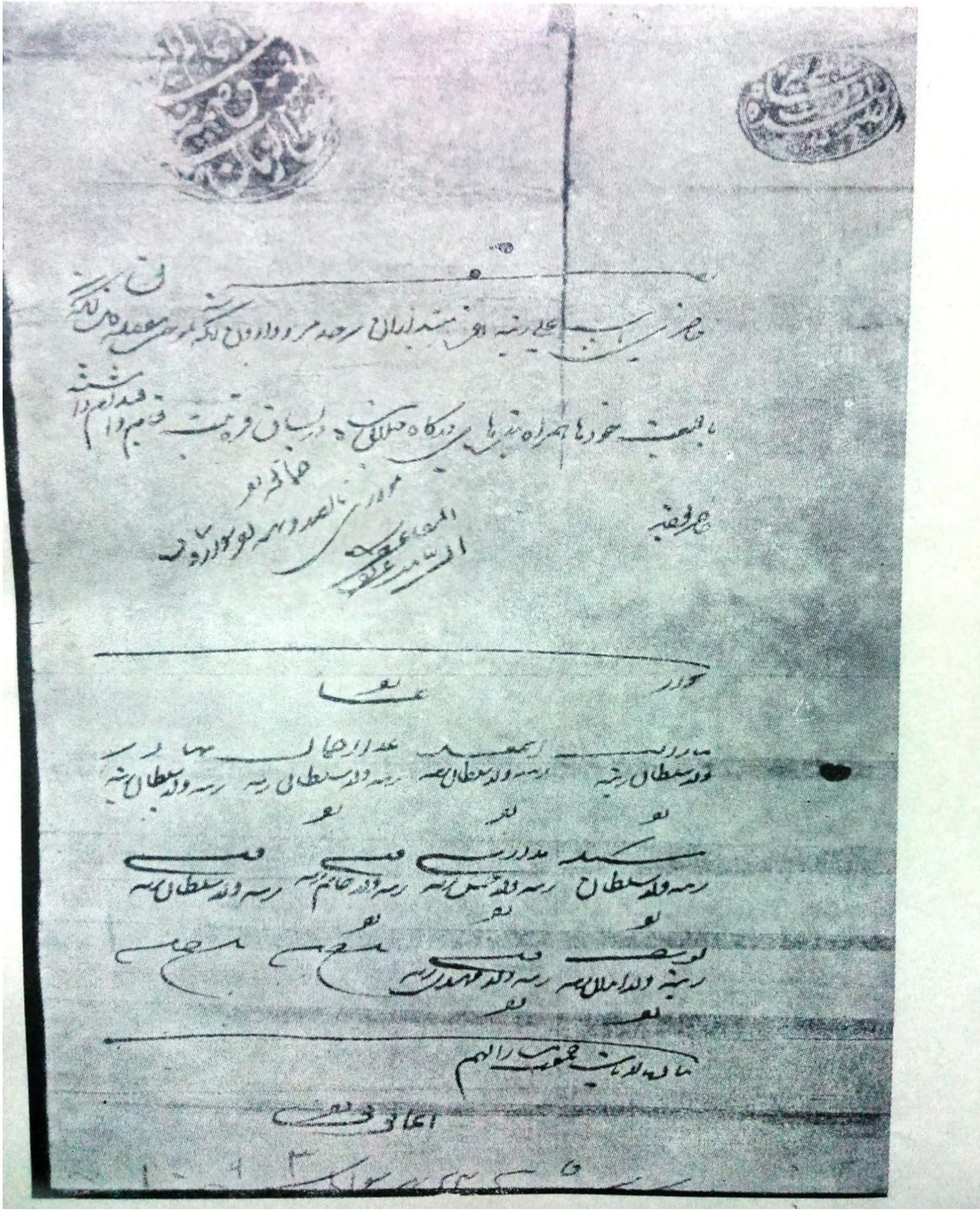
Farman No. 2: Farman of Dilawar Khan, Governor of Kashmir issued during the rule of Mughal emperor Jahangir to Zidar Malik Raina, Zamindar of Marev-Warwan.

Source: Ram Chandra Kak, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Kashmir (Antiquities of Marev-Warwan).*



Farman No. 3: This farman was issued to Zafar Malik son of Ali Malik and other Zamindars of Marev-Warwan by Riza Muhammad servant of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in 1676 A.D.

Source: Ram Chandra Kak, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Kashmir (Antiquities of Marev-Warwan).*



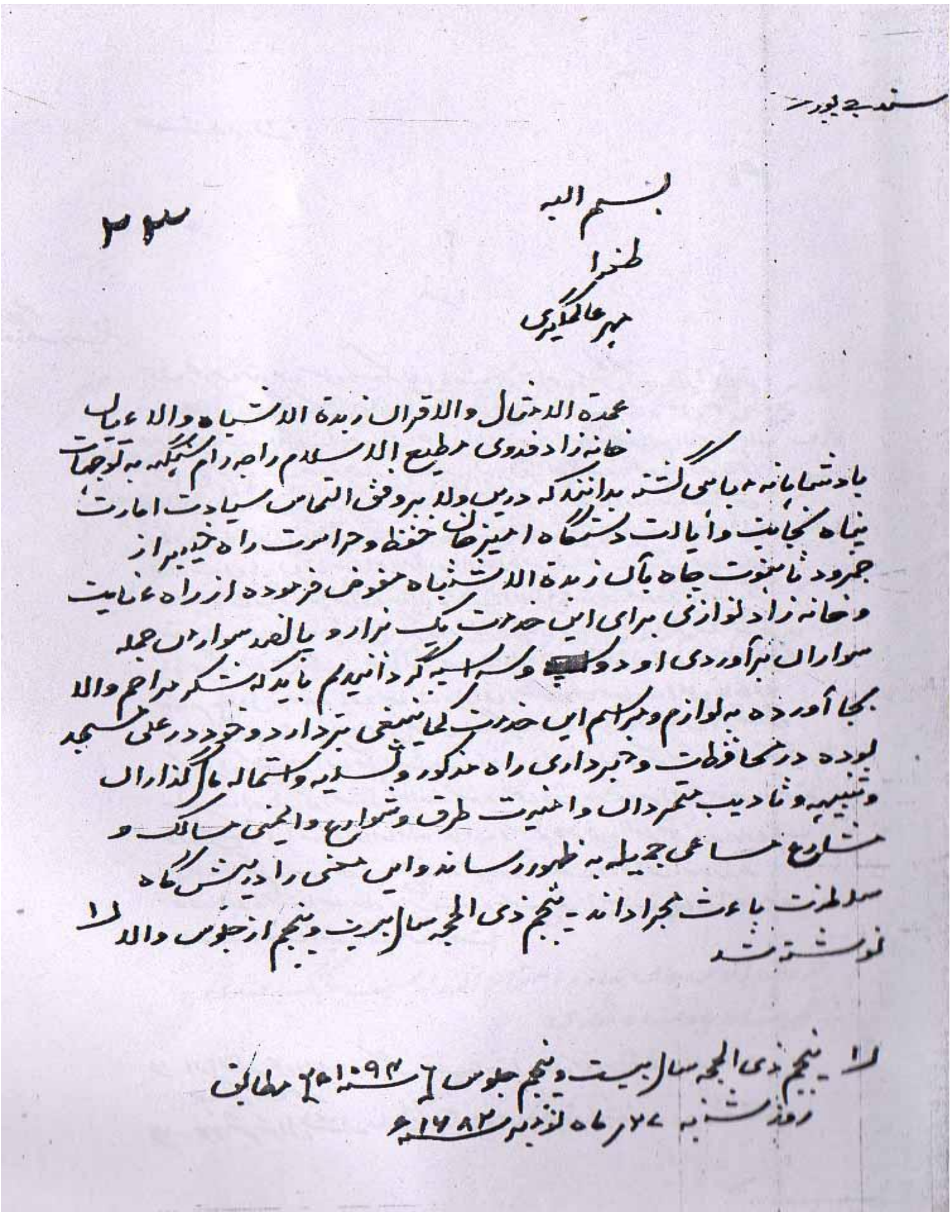
Farman No. 4: This Tasdiq (certificate) was issued to Zamindar Ali Raina and his other followers in attendance of Mughal emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb).

Source: Ram Chandra Kak, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Kashmir (Antiquities of Marev-Warwan).*



A *Dastak* issued by Aurangzeb to watchmen, patrols and guards of the highways.

Source: *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, edt. by Yusuf Husain Khan, A. R. No. 172, P. 76.


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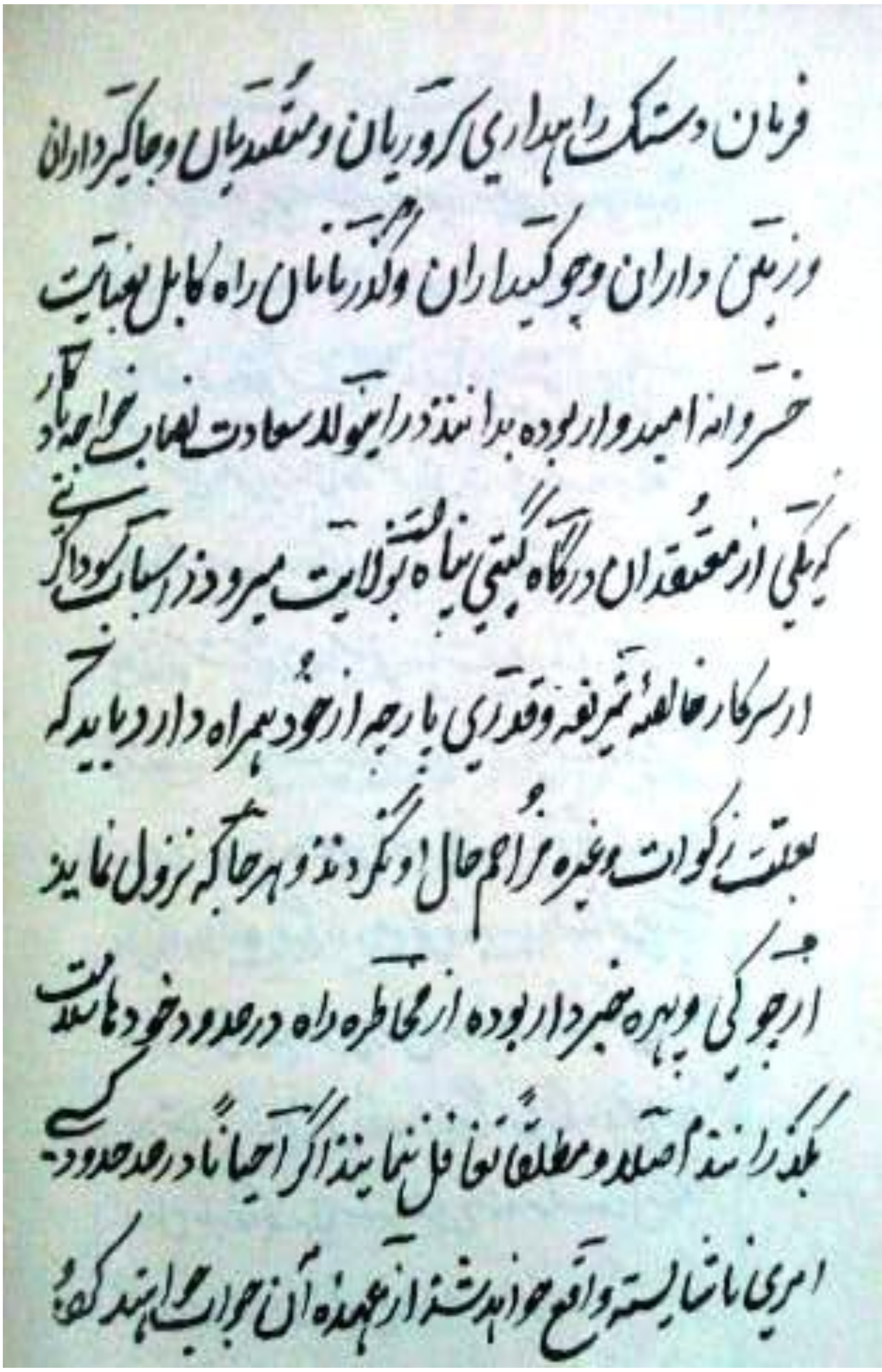
بسم الله
طغرا
مهر عالمگیری

عمدة الاماثل والاقران زبدة الاشباه والاعیان
خانه زاد فدوی مطیع الاسلام راجه رام سنگه به توجهات
پادشاهانه مباهی گشته بدانند که درین ولا بروفق التماس سیادت امارت
پناه نجابت و ایالت دستگاه امیر خان حفظ و حراست راه خیبر از
جمرود تا هفت چاه بآن زبدة الاشباه مفوض فرموده از راه عنایت
و خانه زاد نوازی برای این خدمت یک هزاری و پانصد سوار از جمله
سواران برآوردی او دو [illegible] و سه اسپه گردانیدیم باید که شکر مراحم والا
بجا آورده به لوازم و مراسم این خدمت کما ینبغی پرداخته و خود در علی مسجد
بوده در محافظت و خبرداری راه مذکور و تنبیه و استمالهٔ مالگذاران
و تنبیه و تادیب متمردان و امنیت طرق و شوارع و ایمنی مسالک و
مشارع مساعی جمیله به ظهور رساند و این معنی را دستگاه
سلطنت باعث مجرا داند - پنجم ذی الحجه سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس والا
نوشته شد

۱۱ - پنجم ذی الحجه سال بیست و پنجم جلوس [سنه ۱۰۹۲] مطابق
روز شنبه ۲۷ ماه نومبر ۱۶۸۲ ع

A copy of *farman* dated 4 Sept. 1681 to 23 August 1682, issued by Aurangzeb to his officers to watch and guard the roads and highways of the Khaibar from Jamrud Haft Chah.

Source: *Administrative Documents of Mughal India* by M. A. Ansari., page No. 44, Farman No. 23.


فرمان دستک راهداری کروریان و متصدیان و جاگیرداران
و زمین داران و چوکیداران و گذربانان راه کابل بعنایت
خسروانه امیدوار بوده بدانند که درین وقت سعادت [illegible]
[illegible] از معتقدان درگاه گیتی پناه به ولایت میرود [illegible]
از سرکار خالصه شریفه و قدری پارچه از خود همراه دارد باید که
[illegible] زکوات و غیره مزاحم حال او نگردند و هر جا که نزول نماید
از چوکی و پهره خبردار بوده از مخاطره راه در حدود خود به سلامت
بگذرانند و اصلا و مطلقا تغافل ننمایند اگر احیانا در حد حدود کسی
امری ناشایسته واقع خواهد شد از عهده آن جواب خواهند کرد

***Dastak Rahdari:* Giving instruction to state officers, *Jagirdars* and *Zamindars* to let the travelers and merchants goes through their jurisdiction to Kabul**

Source: *Central Structure of Mughal Empire* by Ibn Hasan.



A painting of the *Darbar* of Shah Jahan showing the appearance of rebel *Zamindar* Partab from the province of Bihar, after his arrest by the Governor, Itiqad Khan.

Source: *Central Structure of Mughal Empire* by Ibn Hasan.



A Caravan Sarai at Jajau, 3kms South of Agra on the Road to the Deccan



Mughal Sarai at Doraha in Ludhiana built by Mughal Emperor Jahangir



Gateway of Old Mughal Sarai in Haryana



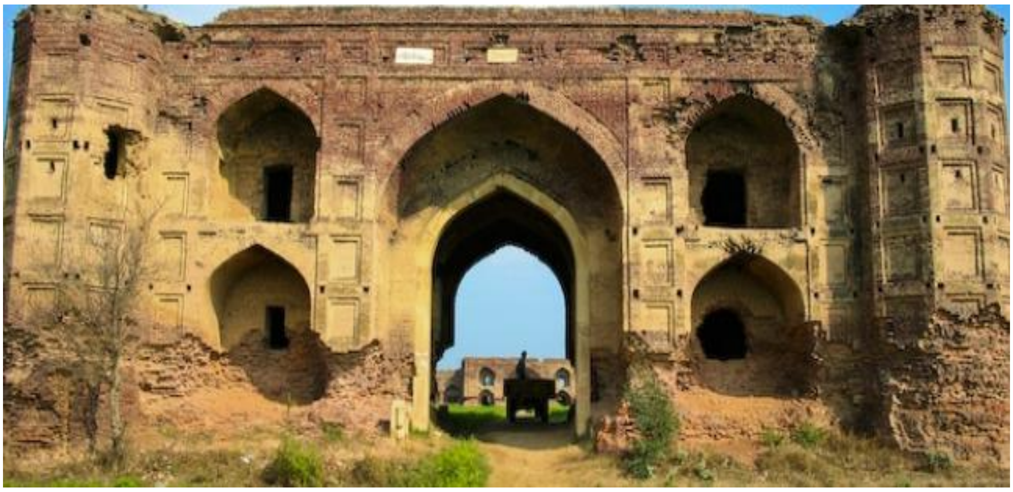
Mughal Sarai Fort in Ludhiana



Sarai Amanat Khan is 29kms south-west of Amritsar on the road to Attri border area. Amanat Khan was the Legandry Calligrapher of the Taj Mahal.



Mughal Sarai Locally known as Killa Sikhan, Shahabad, Kurukshetra, Haryana.



Lashkar Khan Sarai and Fort in Ludhiana on GT Road







Mughal Caravan Sarai, Sarai Lashkar Khan, is on the G.T. Road near Gurudawara Manji Sahib, Kotan (near Doraha) in Ludhiana. It is built by Mughal Military General Lashkar Khan in the reign of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1667.



Mughal Sarai in Summer





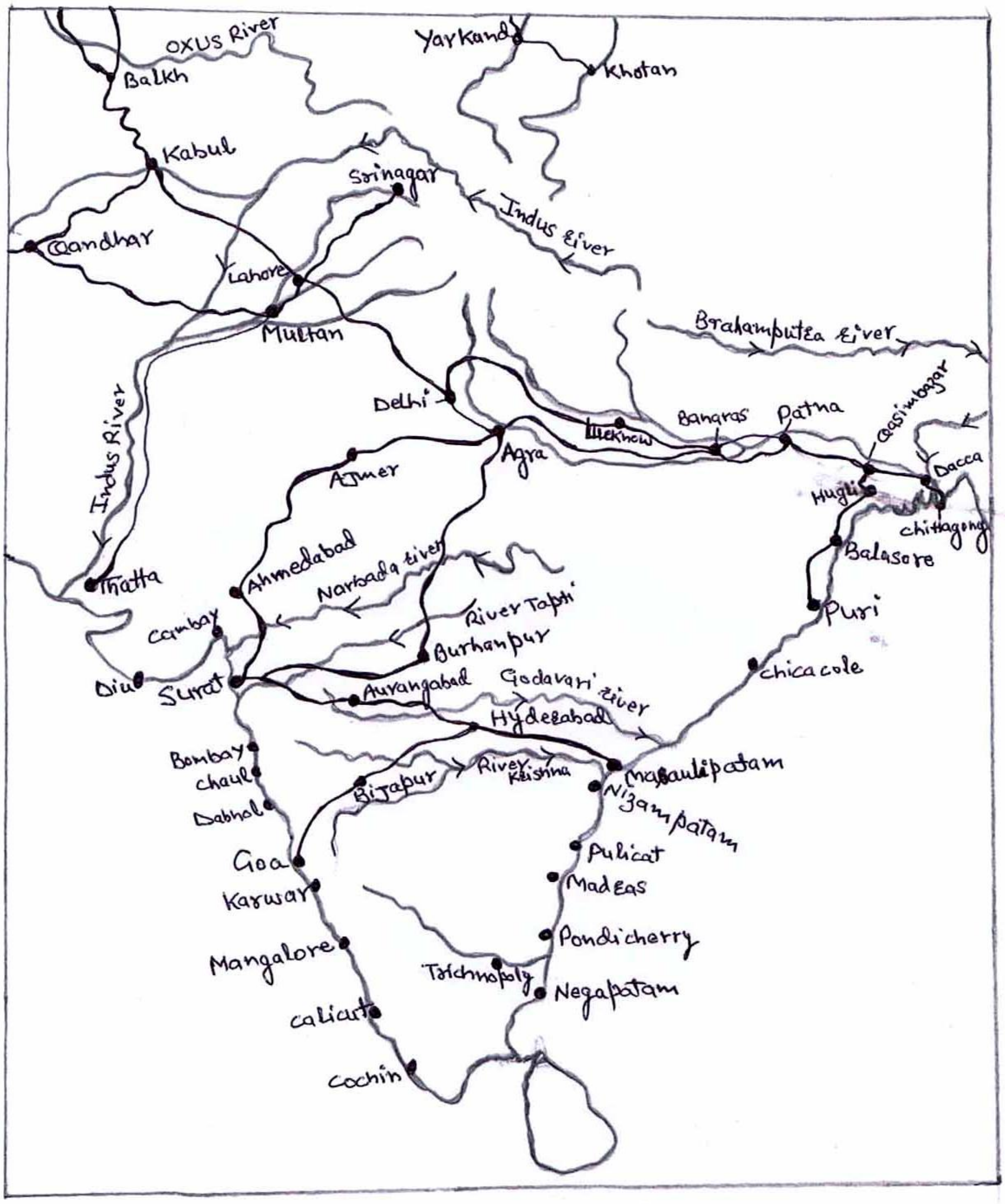
Mughal Sarai in Winter **Mughal Sarai in Rainy Season**

Mughal Sarai on the Mughal Road to Kashmir (J&K)

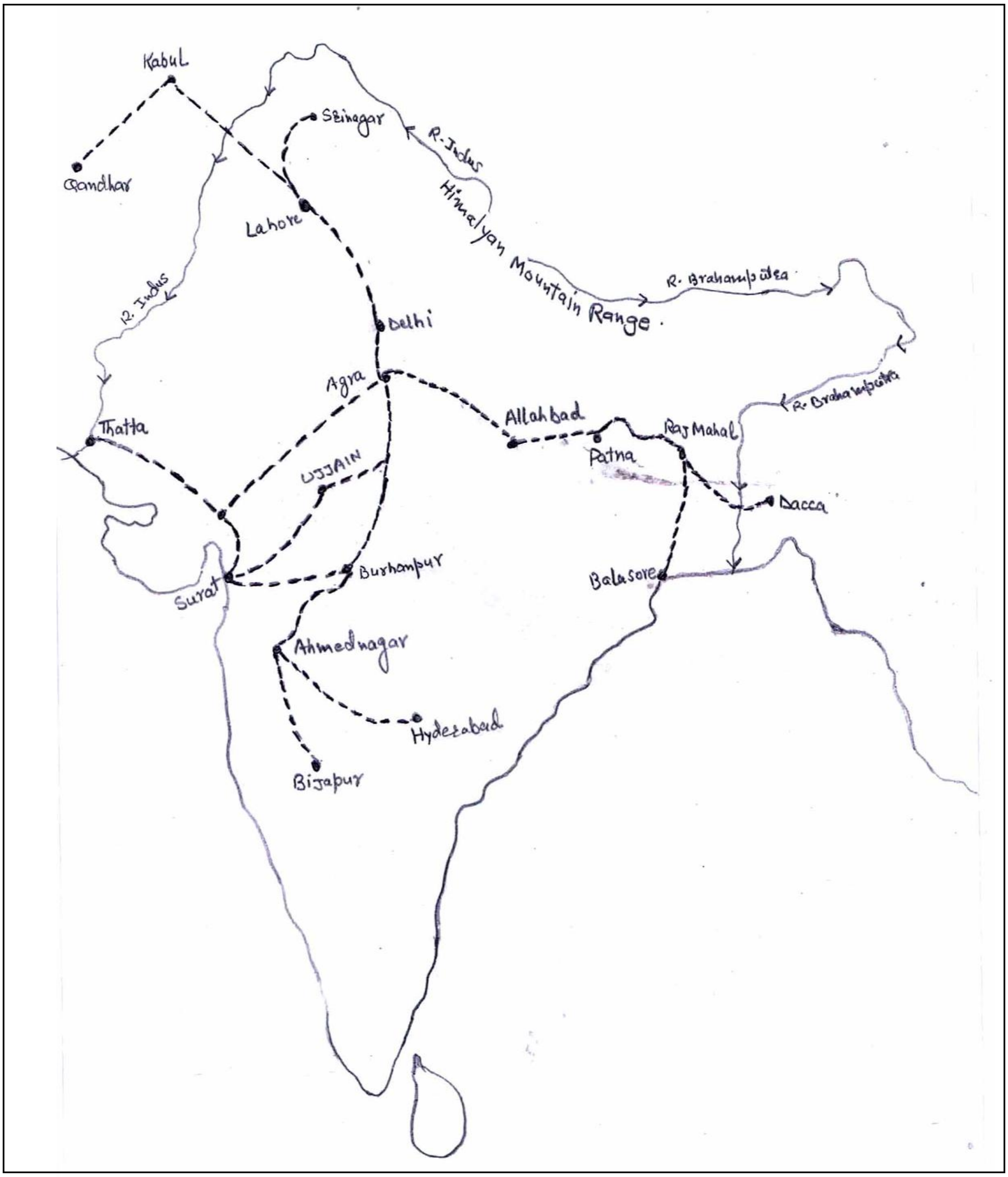




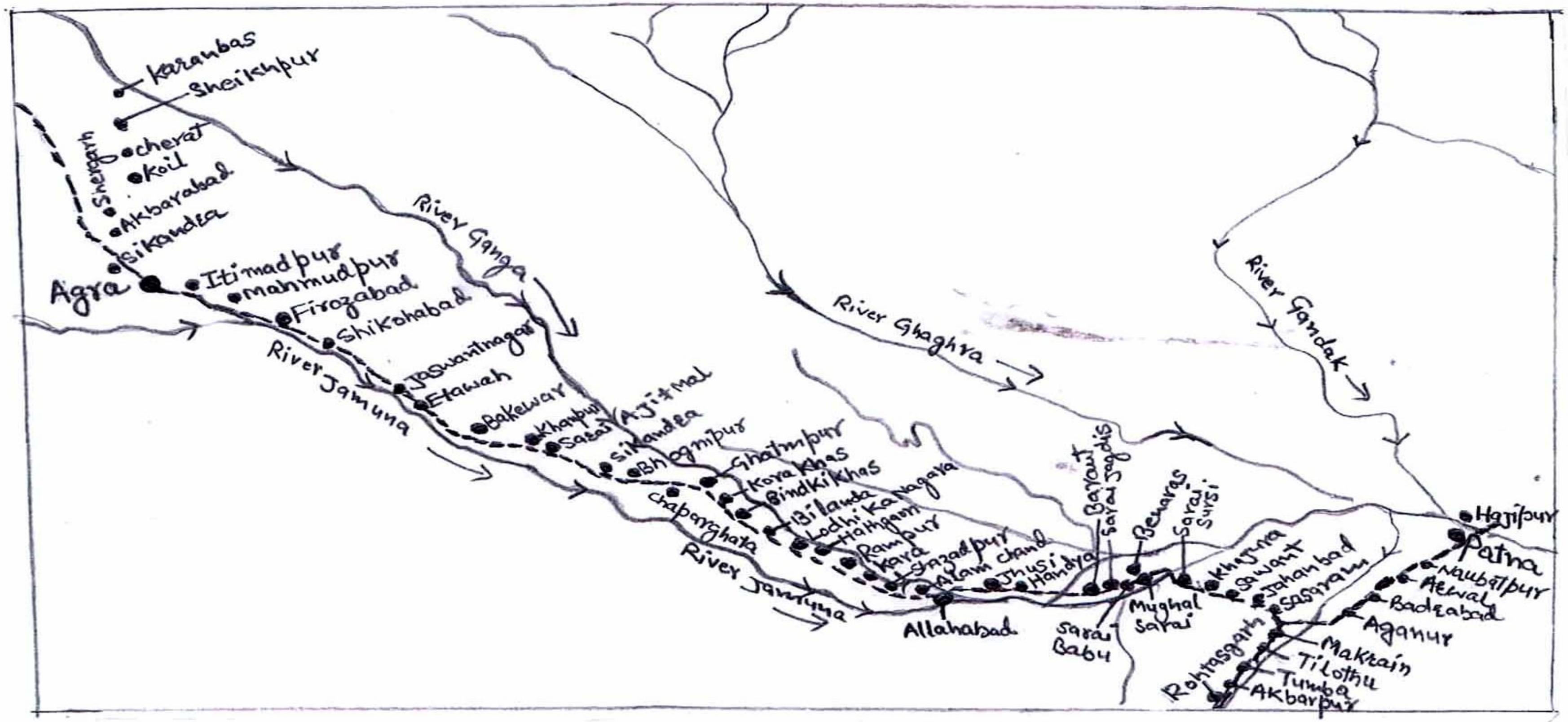
Chingas Sarai in Rajouri (J&K) on the Mughal Road to Kashmir



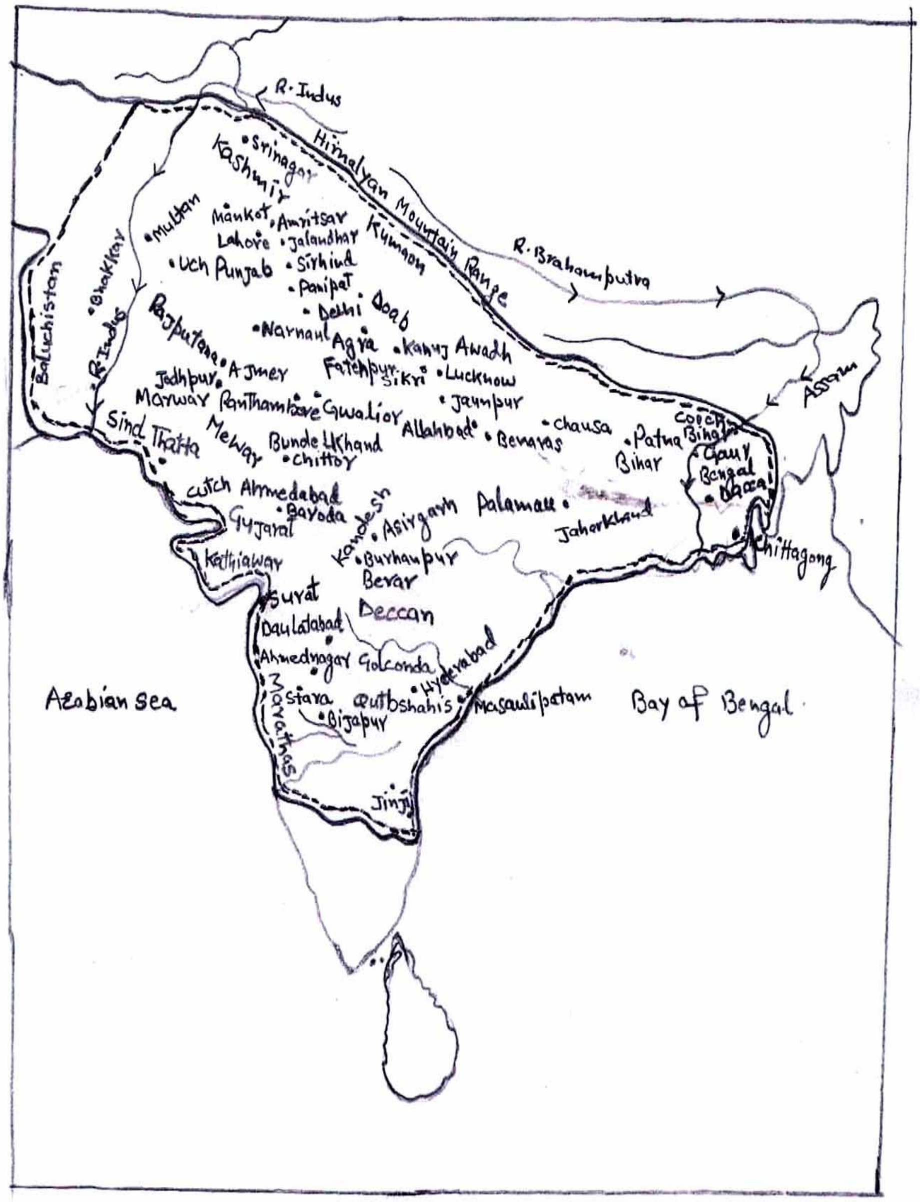
Major routes and ports during Mughal period 17th century



Major Routes during Mughal period



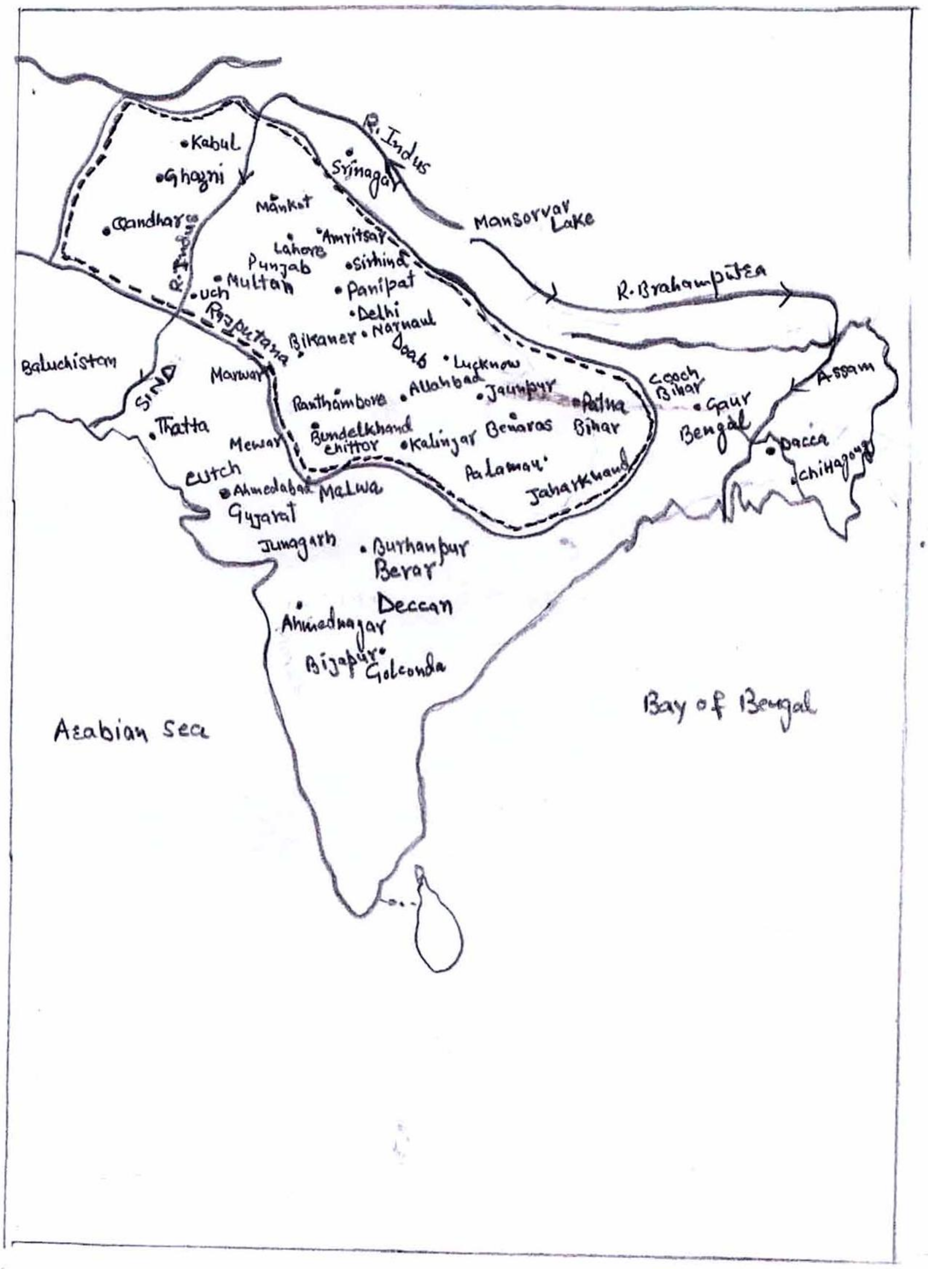
→ Map showing Route used by travellers between Agra and Patna.



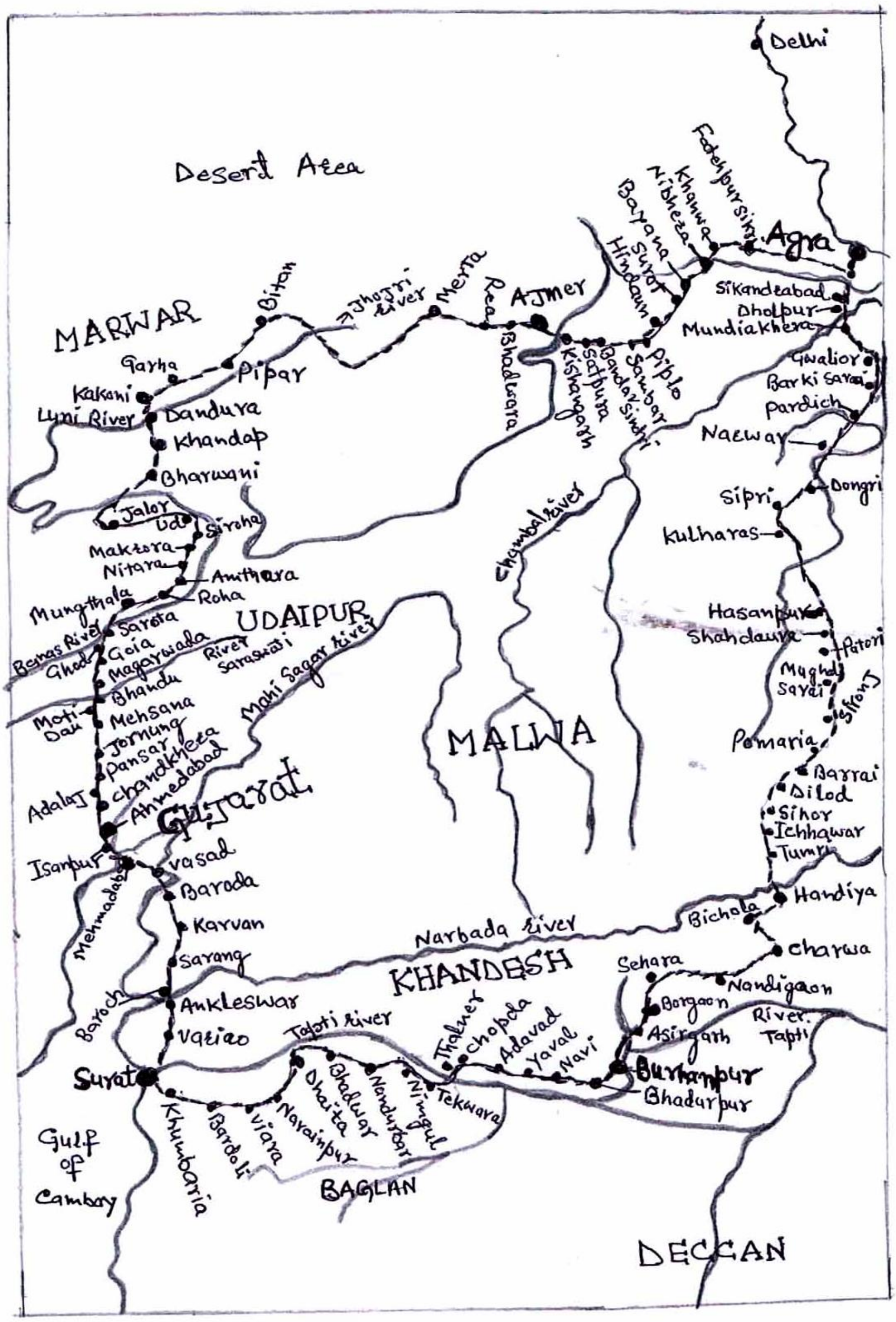
Map showing Extent of Mughal Empire in 1707.



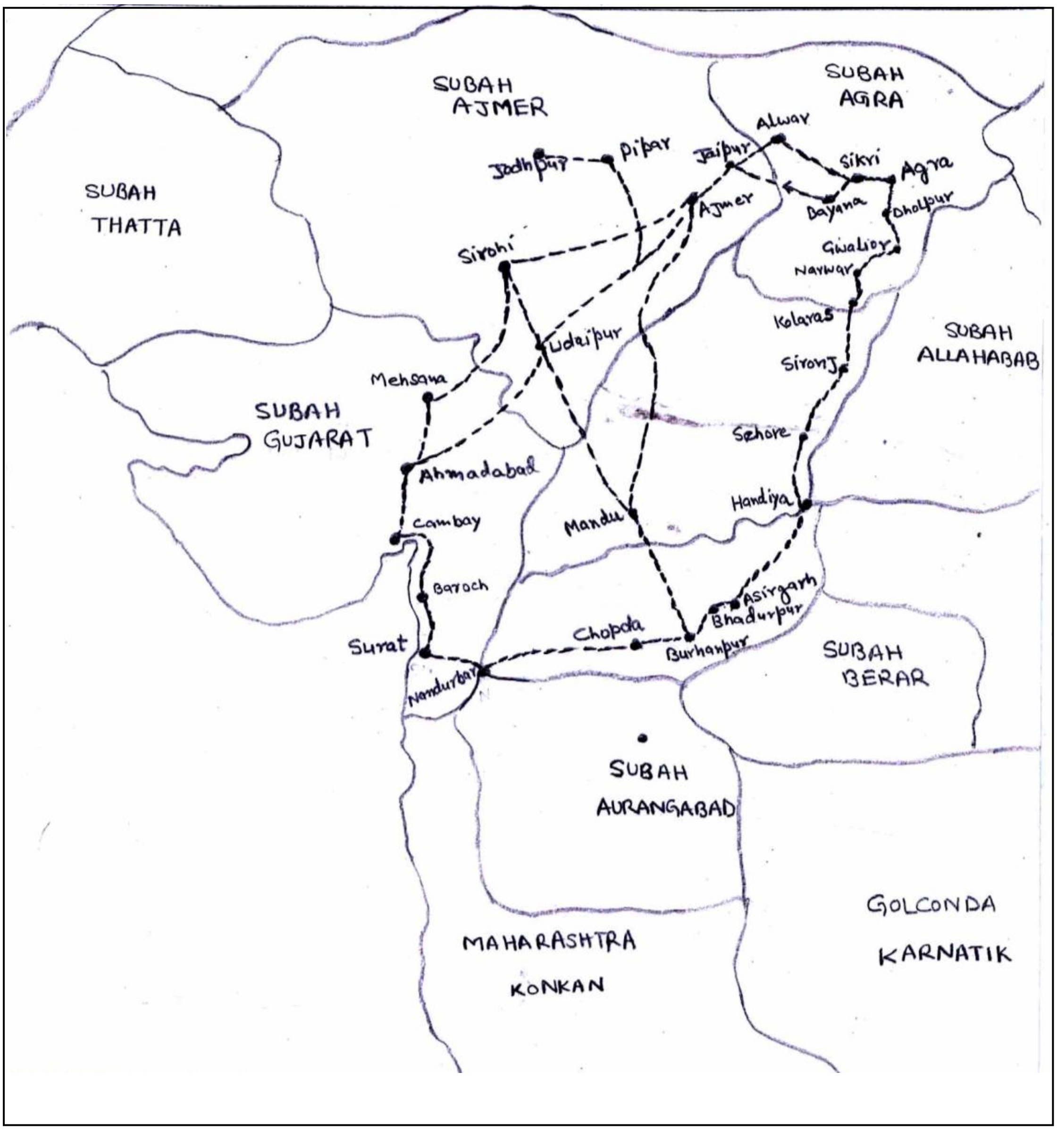
Map showing areas under Mughal Empire in 1605.



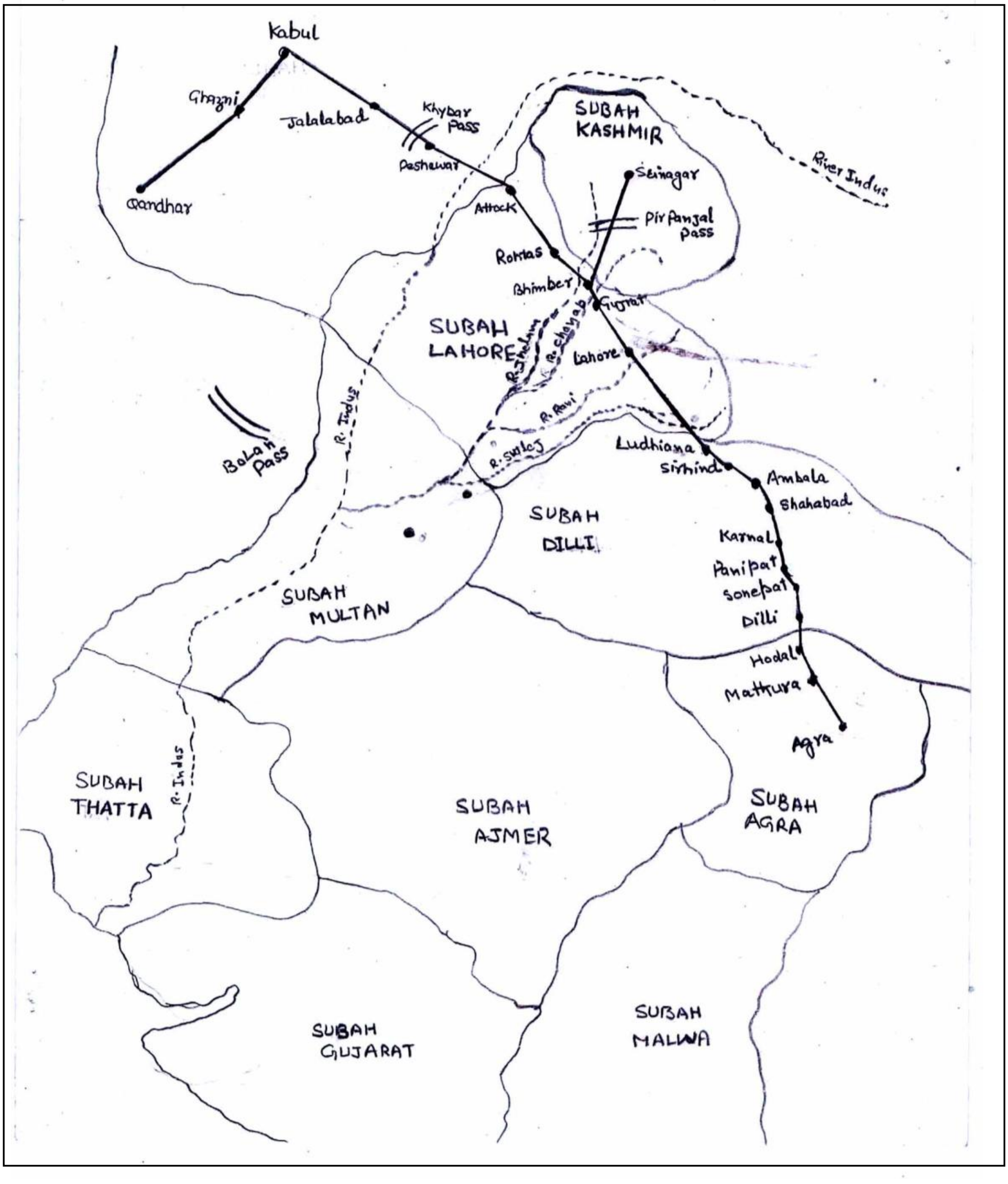
Map showing areas under Mughal Empire in 1530.



Map showing Routes used by Merchants and Travellers between Agra – Surat – Burhanpur – Agra during Mughal period.



Agra – Ajmer – Surat – Burhanpur route.



Agra to Kabul Route

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